

grace of Lancaster, is promised, and expects mighty things; and you may easily imagine the world is come to a fine pass, and that the kingdom is like to be very happy, when the skreen, and the gentleman* with the bloody nose, act in perfect concert together.

South Sea.
1721.
• Lord Sun-
derland.

SAINT JOHN BRODRICK TO LORD MIDDLETON.

Parliament will soon rise.—Uncertain rumours concerning its supposed prolongation beyond the term of seven years.—Sunderland said to be against it.—Walpole for it.—Gains his election at Beralston by the affiance of Walpole, against lord Carteret.—Motion to remit two millions to the South Sea company lost.

MY LORD,

London, June 10, 1721.

I Have not had the favour of a line from you since I left Ireland, but hear from my uncle, that both lady Middleton and your lordship are very well.

Middleton
Papers.

I am not out of hopes of being in Ireland, even before the end of this term; the parliament will hardly sit beyond that time, the ministry seeming as desirous of their rising as the country gentlemen. The bill of credit, and that for relief of the South Sea sufferers are both in such a forwardness, that I believe they will be sent to the lords by this day sennight at furthest, where they will probably meet with a good deal of dispatch, as you may be sure, that the malt bill will, which has been now twice read. If there ever were a design to attempt continuing the parliament towards the end of the session, 'tis laid aside, at least for the present; the great ones being too much divided to enter upon an affair, where I believe their united strength will not be sufficient. Lord S.* is said to be against the experiment, W.+ and his friends for it, believing he will hardly be able to influence and conduct another as he has this parliament. 'Tis certain they are at present in great straits; there is hardly a probability of getting such another set of honest men together, as they have at present, and 'tis not certain, but even these may ride stiff in case their lease be renew'd, tho' this is what is least apprehended, their being a certain and tried way of quieting such unruly spirits.

* Sunder-
land.
+ Walpole.

These divisions in the great ones, made my affair very easy. Lord Car—t was pleased to embark and sollicite personally against me, which made Mr. W. who at first was zealously against me, quit his countryman, sir John Hobart, and engage all his friends for me, so that I really believe, had they been so hardy as to stand a division, their numbers would not have exceeded forty,

Period III. tho' both lords S——d and C——n,* said publickly at their levées, the morn-
1720 to 1727. ing before my election came on, that I should loose it by more than two
 1721. to one.

* Carleton. There was a pretty extraordinary attempt made yesterday in the house. You remember that some time ago, there was a very warm debate, and a close division in a committee of the whole house, about remitting the remaining two of seven millions to the South Sea company, which was carried in the negative, by a small majority. This resolution, tho' agreed to above a month ago, was not reported till yesterday, and most people thought would have been unanimously agreed to; but as soon as the report was made, sir Ch. Wager, in a very short unintelligible speech, mov'd to disagree with the committee, and was seconded by Hor. Walpole. Mr. Freeman of Hertfordshire, got up and spoke to order, said, as this was a most unreasonable, so 'twas a very irregular motion, that there could be nothing more so, then giving money in the chair, which this in effect was; for if the two millions, which were now the money of the publiek, were remitted, the house must think of another fund to make them good, or at least continue the dutys on candles, soap, &c. which this money was to pay off. The question was then put, for agreeing, &c. and carried only by a majority of 11, 166 against 155; when very few thought there were so many in the house would have appear'd on that side of the question. This extraordinary attempt was so far resented by the majority, that while the house was telling, I thought 'twas resolv'd to attempt to strike off two of the five million, in return to their friends favour, but upon reporting the division, the motion was dropt; which in the temper the house was, I really believe might have been carryed, if attempted. I write this before I go to the house, if any thing worth your notice happen there to day, I will trouble you with it. I beg you will please to give lady Middleton my humble duty, and to believe me, my lord, &c.

8 in the evening. I am this minute come from the house, where we had a warm debate, about the time to which Aiflalie's forfeiture should relate. W—e K—e and all the court were for carrying it only to December 1719; which would have produced little or nothing to the publick; others were for the time of his being chancellor of the exchequer, and carryed 113 against 95. My uncle propos'd this time, and spoke for it. Sir Joseph Jekyll, was for going as high as when he was appointed treasurer of the navy, but this was generally dislik't. The torys were against him to a man, and there was, as indeed there generally is, a pretty motley division; the torys, and what they

they call the old whigs against the court. These have generally gone together, since I came into the house, and are at present, indisputably the majority. So that I think, there will hardly be an attempt this session to continue the parliament; that great work must be reserv'd to another, by which time, gentlemen will have leisure to reflect, and consider the arguments that will certainly be applyed to them. Be it when it will, I think 'twill hardly meet with success.

South Sea.
1722..

1722.

MR. AISLABIE TO ROBERT WALPOLE.

Thanks him for his kindness, and acknowledges his own mistakes.

SIR,

Feb. 2, 1722.

I Am extremely sensible of your generosity, and am more ashamed of my owne follies and mistakes, than any severe treatment I might deserve at your hands cou'd make me. Since you have been so good to promise to forget what is pass't, I shall not put you in mind of it any further, than to return you my most hearty thanks. I have sent you an account of the king's stock, with all the dividends as they were received by sir Charles Vernon, to whome the stock was transferred; I have accounted with him this morning, and he has bought the stock that was pawned to him, and paid me the ballance; so that at last, I have rais'd as much as will pay the king, and shall have it ready against Monday night, if you please to let me know to whome I must pay it.

Orford
Papers.

I have likewise sent you a state of my owne account before the judges, by which you will see my estate is not so great as is represented, since I must take all the bad debts to myself. The trustees are both very civill to me, and I am very sensibly to whome I owe it. The judges meet on Wednesday next, to proceed on my account; when the chief justice Prat will be there; if he and judge Fortescue be well inclined, I hope to make an end of it. The doubt they make at present is, whether 29,000*l.* publick money, which was in Mr. Hawes's hands October 1718, be part of the effects I had in other people's hands at that time, and which I had invested in stocks some time after all the publick money was paid away. As this can scarce be a point, yet being matter of account, they do not take it readily. I beg that you will assist me

MEMOIRS OF SIR ROBERT WALPOLE.

Period III. to make an end of this affair, in such manner as you think proper, that you
1720 to 1727. may see, that by making me free, you have made me your creature, and most
 1722. obliged faithfull servant.

Hitherto the correspondence, with a few exceptions, has been published according to chronological order, but from this period, I am under the necessity of occasionally interrupting it, for the purpose of placing together such letters and papers as relate to one person, or to a particular event, as bishop Atterbury, Bolingbroke, Wood's patent, and other articles.

LETTERS AND PAPERS RELATING TO ATTERBURY.

THIS ARTICLE COMPRISES,

1. Letters to and from bishop Atterbury and Robert Walpole; and papers in the hand-writing of Atterbury, found in Morice's possession.
2. Deposition, and letters of Morice to his father-in-law.

ROBERT WALPOLE TO HORACE WALPOLE.

Various intelligences concerning the schemes of the pretender and jacobites in Italy and Spain.—Kelly arrested.—Proofs of bishop Atterbury's treasonable correspondencies.—Incident of the dog Harlequin.

DEAR HORACE,

May 29, 1722. O. S.

Walpole
Papers.

I Have severall times been prevented from writing to you to give you an account how affairs stood here, and in particular in regard to the plott, which has been hitherto carried on in the same manner, and with a resolution to be executed in case the king goes abroad; but as his majesty is now come to a declaration, that he will not go this summer, I am of opinion, that this will putt an end to the whole enterprise. The state of our intelligence, as it stands now, is in the severall intercepted letters going and coming, the repeated advices from France from the same great canal,* confirmed by severall particulars and advices directly from Rome: these last have come to us by two different ways from Davenant, † who is now at Rome, with severall circumstances, and the emperour's minister residing there, communicated by way of France from Penterrider. There are allowances to be made in the accounts that

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† British en-
voy.

that come from Penterrider, who, I think, aggravates things to his own interest and purpose, to shew that the courts of France and Spain are concerned in this matter. The substance of these advices, as far as I think they really are to be credited is, that the pretender has of late been frequently absent from Rome at a country house taken for him, where he is gone now to reside altogether, the better to cover his absence, if his departure should be determin'd upon. He is to embark at Port Longone, where three Spanish men of war attend him, that came thither with stores and ammunition; but 'tis my opinion, they came thither on purpose. He is to go incognito to Spain, and be there in a readiness to imbark upon notice that the king is gone. The duke of Ormond has likewise left Madrid, and is at a country house, 'tis supposed with the same view. But it is very plain that the whole scheme is concerted for the king's going abroad, and though I think it most probable, that we shall hear of the pretender's having left Italy; I can't believe but he will wait in Spain, 'till he hears from hence, what resolution the king has finally taken in regard to his journey; which being now wholly putt off, I think it will begett new considerations, and determine in laying the project aside.

All other of our advices are so very agreeable to this from Rome; that I think there is no room to doubt but the truth is much as I have stated and I confess to you, that it appears to me so very difficult to believe enough with regard to Spain, without believing too much, that I am inclin'd to carry my apprehensions from that quarter a great deal further, than I think it proper for any of us as yett to own; or that either of the secretaries of state will agree with me in. All the intercepted letters and correspondences carried on in cant allegories, cyphers, and fictitious names, have hitherto confirm'd our other accounts; but of late 'tis plain they suppose wee see what they write, that every thing now is wrote on purpose to be read. These letters were directed to severall different addresses, and left at several coffee-houles; but we learnt that one Kelly, alias Johnson, call'd for them all, and distributed them properly; and when we found that we had no further use of seeing them, it was reliev'd to take up Kelly, which was done, and all his papers seif'd, but by a most scandalous management, he was suffer'd to gett his sword, which had been taken from him, to drive the messengers out of the room, and burn his papers. You may easily imagine what a noise such a thing makes; and what makes it more material in these correspondences, that pass'd through Kelly's hand, it was very plain, that the names of Illington and Jones, were the bishop of Rochester, which has now been proved by an incident of a little dog, that

was

Atterbury.
1722.

MEMOIRS OF SIR ROBERT WALPOLE.

Period III. was sent from France to Mrs. Illington (before his lordship's lady died) and
1720 to 1727. was mentioned in some of the most treasonable letters. Upon the examination,
 1722. it has been confessed, that this dog * was sent to the bishop of Rochester,
 which

* The curious incident relating to the dog mentioned in this letter, as one among many proofs, that Atterbury had maintained a treasonable correspondence with the pretender's agents; is thus related in the report of the committee of secrecy, drawn up by Pulteney: " Some letters having been intercepted, which there is good reason to believe were from the bishop of Rochester; and one of these letters signed T. Jones, and another T. Illington, the committee lay before the house the evidence they found of the bishop's being designed by these two names, collected from circumstances, which being in themselves seemingly minute, and of little consequence, were for this reason more frankly confessed by those, who were obstinate in concealing stronger proofs; and yet at the same time, lead directly to the discovery of the person meant by those names. Mrs. Barnes, being examined before a committee of the council, obstinately refused to make the least discovery relating to George Kelly; but when she came to be asked what she knew about a dog, sent over by Kelly from France; not suspecting this could lead to any discovery, she readily owned, that a spotted little dog, called Harlequin, which was brought from France, and had a leg broken, was left with her to be cured: that the said dog was not for her, but for the bishop of Rochester; and that Kelly promised to get the dog of the bishop of Rochester for her, in case it did not recover of its lameness. This declaration, she signed in the presence of the committee of council: and Kelly himself made no difficulty to own the receiving such a dog from France. But it appears by letters intercepted between Kelly and his correspondents in France, that a dog so named and hurt, was sent over to Kelly from France, to be delivered as a present to the person denoted by the name of Jones or Illington."* This coincidence of circumstances, proved indisputably, that bishop Atterbury was designed under the names of Jones and Illington: the bishop himself, in his eloquent defence, does not condescend to take any notice of this circumstance; his advocates, aware of the impression which it had made against their client, endeavoured to refute it, but they could only oppose suppositions to positive fact. As ridicule has more weight than sophistry, however, Swift defended his friend Atterbury in some burlesque verses, " upon the horrid plot discovered by the bishop of Rochester's French dog." In a dialogue between a whig and a tory; in which the author humorously decries the evidence derived from the dog :

Now let me tell you plainly, sir,
 Our witness is a real *curr*,
 A dog of spirit for his years,
 Has twice two legs, two hanging ears;
 His name is *Harlequin* I wot,
 And that's a name in ev'ry *plot*:

* Report of the Secret Committee; see also Abstract of the Report in Political State of Great Britain, v. 25, p. 306.

which has at least serv'd to fix the certainty of the names. We are in trace of severall things very material, but we fox-hunters know that we do not always find every fox that we crosse upon; but I doubt not but this matter will come out so as to shame all gainsayers. I know nothing else to trouble you with, but the prospect we have of the two companies agreeing, which I persuade myself is now past hazard, and stocks begin now to rise so fast, that I hope an immediate execution may attend the agreement, which has been the only cause of the late delay.

Atterbury.
1722.

BISHOP ATTERBURY TO ROBERT WALPOLE.

Desires to know whether he shall audit the accounts of the money expended for the repairs of Westminster abbey.

SIR,

Deanery, August 4, 1722.

THE executor of your late receiver of abbey-money, has brought me an account of the said receipt and disbursements for sometime past, desiring me, as a commissioner, to peruse it in order to its being allowed. Upon casting my eye over it, I find it to be already audited, and sworn to by him, according to the course of the exchequer. But the sub-commissioners in the former commission, either being absent, or not caring upon some scruples they have entertained in relation to the legality of it, to act; your executor presses me for his discharge; he being bound to pass the late receiver's account in three months after his decease; which time is now near elapsed. Till this be done, none of the money lately allotted by you, sir, to the abbey, and now in the new receiver's hands, can be regularly paid the workmen, who stand in great need of it, having large demands on that head. However, sir, I am not willing to take any step, or to give myself any trouble in this case, 'till

Orford
Papers.

Resolv'd to save the *British* nation,
Though *French* by birth and education;
His correspondence plainly dated,
Was all decyph'r'd and translated:
His answers were exceeding pretty,
Before the secret wise committee:
Confest as plain as he could bark:
Then with his fore-foot set his mark."*

* Swift's Works, v. 7, p. 524

I know

MEMOIRS OF SIR ROBERT WALPOLE.

Period III. I know your pleasure: whether, in these circumstances, which will not per-
 1720 to 1727.
 haps again happen, you think it proper to have this account thus attested
 1722. and sworn, passed and signed by the commissioners themselves, as it certainly
 may be, upon the foot of the act. If you think so, I shall be ready, together
 with the new receiver, to inspect the vouchers carefully; and having done so,
 and found all right, either to sign the account myself, or to lay it before you
 in order to its being sign'd by the commissioners. I would have waited on
 you, in relation to this matter; but think this the less troublesome way of
 application.

ROBERT WALPOLE TO BISHOP ATTERBURY.

Excuses himself for not passing the accounts in the manner desired by the bishop.

MY LORD,

Chelsea, August 15, 1722.

Oxford
Papers.

I Had the honour of your lordship's letter, concerning the accounts of the late receiver of the money, given for the repairs of Westminster abbey, which I should have immediately consider'd, with a disposition to concur with your lordship, with the same readiness, that I have hitherto done in every thing that related to the affairs of the abbey, if I had not been informed of the great uneasiness, that our last proceedings had given to the prebendaries of the church, which they having now reduced into writing, I send your lordship a copy of their representation, as deliver'd to me; that you may be sensible of the reasons that have convinc'd me, not only not to proceed in the manner that I have hitherto done, but to endeavour to give them all the satisfaction that is in my power, in a case, where I think they have such just reason to complain. I think myself oblig'd to acquaint your lordship, that I have very freely own'd, that I was surpris'd into the steps that I have taken, having never had the least intimation of any former constitutions appointing sub-commissioners for the care and inspection of these works, which being so rightly placed in the prebendaries of the church, I cannot but be of opinion it ought to be continued there, that I hope your lordship will excuse me, if I concur with my lord chief justice Pratt, in rectifying an error, which I was inadvisedly led into. I am, &c. &c.

BISHOP

BISHOP ATTERBURY TO ROBERT WALPOLE.

Atterbury.

1722.

Expresses his surprise at the resolution of Walpole, and the representations of the prebendaries.—Justifies his own conduct on this occasion.

SIR,

Bromley, August 18, 1722.

Orford
Papers.

YOUR letter of August 15, has, this afternoon, reach'd me here from the deanery; where, I suppose, it may have layn for a day or two. The representation of the prebendarys, that you have been pleased to transmit with it, is news to me; not one of them having complained or spoken to me, on that head: tho' I should have thought that sort of application to have been most natural and regular. I lately indeed heard, they had doubts concerning their power to act under the former sub-commission; and I believe I mentioned them in the letter I had some time ago the honour of writing to you; and desired only to have the accounts of the late receiver (already audited and sworn) passed by the commissioners themselves (as his executor pres's'd they might be, and brought me the books for that purpose) that the money, which had so long been order'd, and is now in the present receiver's hands, might be paid to the poor workmen without farther delay. But I had no view towards making that the usual method of passing those accounts; nor, I dare say, is there a word in my letter tending that way.

On the contrary, sir, you may be pleased to recollect, that I apply'd to you for a sub-commission; and proposed onely a new receiver, in the room of him that is dead; and the dropping of a salary of 100*l.* per annum, which for many years, has been a mere honorary pension to an officer, who never has set foot within the walls of the church, nor contributed in the least towards carrying on the repairs, or inspecting the accounts. And I humbly thought, that money might be bestowed on the fabric, better, and more agreeably to the intentions for which it was given. I own, sir, you express'd your doubts in that case, concerning the expedience of such an alteration; and I immediately comply'd with them.

After I had waited on you, and you had referred me to Mr. Trecher of the treasury, I set myself to procure a copy of the sub-commission for him, and desired the executor of the late receiver to furnish me with it: which he for some days declined. Upon which, I sent to the treasury, and to the exchequer; but found it was not enter'd at either of those places. At last, I litt upon an old copy of it, written in the hand of the late receiver, which I lodg'd

MEMOIRS OF SIR ROBERT WALPOLE.

Period III. with Mr. Trecher; and with him it rested for three weeks and upwards, till
720 to 1727. the new appointment of the present receiver was drawn up and engross'd: in
1722. the forming of which, I had nothing to do; but sat still, and quietly expected
the event. And that commission, sir, you know, expressly refers to the sub-
commission, and obliges the present receiver to conform himself to it. Nor
was I aware that a sub-commission, by which the late receiver had acted to
the time of his death, was determined: especially, if you, sir, and my lord
chief justice, should have been pleased to endorse it, as is usual, I am told, in
like cases, at the treasury. The only difference, I did, or do apprehend be-
tween a new sub-commission, and an endorsement of the old one is, that the
number of sub-commissioners would be fuller in the one case than the other;
to which, I have no manner of objection.

I shall not enter into farther particulars, at present, being at a distance from
my papers. But I intend to be in town on Monday; and hope for that equity
from you, sir, and from my lord chief justice, that neither of you will pre-
cipitate your decision in a matter where you have heard what is said on one
side only. Whatever I otherwise am, yet as dean of Westminster, I have a
right to be heard, on this occasion, in which I am most immediately con-
cerned. If you, sir, judge otherwise, and shall think fit to take any step
hinted at in the representation, without allowing me an opportunity of laying
my thoughts of it before you; tho' I can never join in such a measure, yet I
know how to submit in the manner that becomes, sir, your most obedient and
humble servant.

The bishop wrote this letter on the 18th, and on the 24th was arrested.

The following papers written in the bishop's own hand, were found in Mr.
Morice's possession, when he was arrested and examined in 1732.

*Endeavours to prove, that sir Robert Walpole intended to bring in the pre-
tender*, after the death of George the First. It was probably written in
1726, or the beginning of 1727.*

THE

* It is not improbable, that this paper was written by Atterbury, and sent to England for the purpose of being employed in some political publication, according to a similar plan mentioned in a letter from Pozobueno, the Spanish minister to Ripperda.

London May 30, 1726. I was informed by the Imperial resident, that Pulteney, the oracle
of

THE most able and penetrating heads in England, judge sir Robert Walpole's scheme to be, That king George should hold his throne during life; and that, upon his death, his son the prince electoral should not succeed, but the right line be restored, in the person of king James himself, or (rather) in that of his son the prince of Wales, if there be any hopes of his having a protestant education.

Atterbury.
Drake.

The proofs of this scheme are. 1. That sir Robert Walpole has all along liv'd in terms of defiance with the electoral prince of Hanover; so that he can expect no mercy from him, whenever he shall mount the throne, but is sure of being then ruin'd. He has but one method of preventing that blow; which is, by restoring the rightful king, or his issue; and he is under no tye of honour or conscience, with regard to his party or principles, which should hinder him from pursuing it.

2. That he aims at this point, appears, from his destroying the power of the German ministers, both at home and abroad, so as to hinder them from meddling in any thing, wherein the interests of England are concerned; which would be false policy in him, if he intended the succession should be established in a German family. From his management with respect to the debt of the nation, which he undertook to lessen: his talents peculiarly lye that way; but have been so little exerted, that the public debt, has swelled every year gradually during his ministry. The onely excuse that can be made for him is, that he hopes to cancel it at once, upon a new revolution; when a prince shall come in, whom that debt was contracted on purpose to keep out. This will certainly then prove the case; and either he has this in his brow, or his conduct is altogether unaccountable. For he loads the people with new taxes, fixes upon them a standing army, and augments it from time to time under various pretences; induces the parliament to take steps that violate all the English liberties, releases king George from all the engagements he was under, when he accepted the crown, and gives him such extraordinary powers as were unknown to the constitution under its most arbitrary princes;

of the opposition, told him, that he was preparing to publish before the meeting of parliament, proofs of the bad conduct of the government; in which he should accuse sir Robert Walpole of malversation in the public expenditure, give a statement of the national debt, delineate the overbearing spirit of lord Townshend, who has reduced the nation to such a state, and whose conduct seems to prove, that in conjunction with Walpole, he has an inclination to sacrifice the king, and to place the pretender upon the throne.

Period III. for what reason? but to render that family odious, and by making the burthen
1720 to 1727 so heavy, to prepare and dispose the people towards shaking it off, when the
 great opportunity happens, at the head of which he will certainly be, in hopes,
 by that means, of preserving himself from ruin.

With what reasonable view could be forward those insolent and bullying
 steps taken with respect to the emperor, Spain, and Muscovy, but in order to
 incense those powers to such a degree as should render them irreconcileable?
 and push them into measures for restoring the king, and by that means providing
 for their own honor, interest, and safety. This event, he thinks himself un-
 able to effect, during the life of king George; but does every thing, that may
 facilitate it afterwards; and probably not without the privity and consent of
 his master; who is known for obvious reasons, to hate and despise the electoral
 prince, and to have mortify'd and counteracted him every way, so as never
 but once when he went abroad, to entrust him with any share in the administra-
 tion, and the counsel given him then by Townshend and Walpole, was the
 occasion of their being disgraced soon afterwards, upon his return from Ha-
 never: when it was particularly laid to their charge (and that charge was
 true) that they had endeavoured to render the prince independant of his
 father, by procuring a separate revenue to be settled upon him, in the first
 parliament after king George came over. They have made amends for this
 conduct since, and have by that means (among others) re-established their
 credit with king George, nor will they loose it by any scheme, which is not to
 take place till he is dead, and buried.

What other account can be given why the prince in possession does not
 suffer his grandson Frederick, the distant heir of the crown, to come into
 England, or even to learn the language of the country till lately? Must it not
 be supposed alone to imply, that he has no thoughts of his reigning there? If
 that be not actually the case, nothing can be more wonderful than king
 George's politics.

Add to this (what is extremely remarkable) that neither of the famous
 speeches from the throne, or in any of the addresses and votes of the two
 houses, during this session (in the wording of all which, sir Robert Walpole
 was chiefly concerned) any mention has been made of the succession in the
 illustrious House; a never failing topick upon former occasions; and most
 proper to be insisted of the pretender. It seems the fault of that design-
 sion designd in behalf was,

was, that it aim'd directly at dethroning king George; but no concern is express'd for those who are to come after him. Atterbury.

From these, and several other reflections, the thinking men in England conclude, that sir Robert Walpole's scheme, is certainly what it has been represented, at the beginning of this paper; since no other supposition, but that, can possibly solve all present appearances.

Bishop Atterbury endeavours to prove, that sir Robert Walpole is tottering; in order to induce him to break with England, and unite with the emperor.

THE cardinal's conduct in adhering so firmly to his engagements with England, is matter of surprize to men of reflection, in many respects; but there is one which ought to be of the greatest weight with him, yet seems not to be attended to, at least not so much as it ought to be. It is the slipperiness of the foundation, upon which the scheme of the cardinal's union with England was built; for it can hold no longer than Walpole's ministry subsists: and that seems to be very precarious at present.

Two things require to be explain'd on that head, 1. That Walpole is sinking. 2. That the strict union between England and France will sink with him. These two points being made out, the consequences are obvious, and need little explication. As to these points, were the cardinal duly informed of the true state of affairs in England, he would not want to have it prov'd, or at all explain'd to him: for nothing is more certain, than that Walpole's power and influence decline apace, and are in danger of being soon overturned. Foreigners do not so easily enter into these things till it be too late: but flatter themselves with some publick appearances on which they are chiefly intent, and rely; without knowing the secret causes, that do in England gradually, but certainly produce such changes. These the natives observe, and can form sure judgment from them, about the approaching fall of any minister.

What they lay to his charge is: That his whole administration is built on corruption and bribery; which he has carried to a greater height than any of his worst predecessors ever did; and has by that single means work'd all his ends, and obtained all his majorities in parliament, at the expence of the morals of a people, who were remarkable heretofore for their honor and probity, and who had some share of it left, till they came under his administration. This method of corruption has indeed proceeded so far as to poison

Oxford
Papers.
Draught.

MEMOIRS OF SIR ROBERT WALPOLE.

Period III. 1720 to 1727. poison the greater part of those who make the chief figure of our constitution, the members of both houses. However, the bulk of the nation are still uninfect'd, detest the schemer for the fake of it; being certified if it continues much longer, as it must while he stands, there will scarce be any left to retrieve the ill consequences of it. The new load of taxes under which Great Britain now groans, the increase of the public debt, which he undertook to diminish considerably, if not to extinguish; the decay of public credit, by the fall of the stocks, and the loss or suspension of several chief branches of the English trade, are all imputed to him, as the effects of his councils and measures, particularly those which he entered into the last spring, with regard to the Emperor, Spain, and the Czarina.

He is thought to have formed the design of giving up Gibraltar to the Spaniards, a design so dishonourable and mischievous to the nation, as renders him odious to all sorts of people, and particularly to the trading part of it. And yet with this he is charg'd in the public prints; and is look'd upon as driven to it by the necessity under which England is brought by his management, of complying with the demands of France, who are supposed secretly to favour this scheme.

Indeed the chief article of his accusation is (nor ought it to be dissembled) that he has by his unskilful measures put the ballance of power in the hands of France, which is, by his means, become the umpire of all the differences between the contesting powers of Europe; and particularly, the absolute disposer of the fate of Great Britain. That he has contributed to the re-establishing of their marine by the very condition required of them in the Hanover treaty, and has favoured of late their reunion with Spain, which as an Englishman, he should rather have prevented. Those false, and (as it is thought) fatal steps in politics, both whigs and tories, equally resent; the former as the real and natural enemy of France (however they may disguise that enmity at present) the latter as made such by the opposition which France has given to the king's restoration. Both at length will join in crushing Mr. Walpole, as the author of such measures, as though they may end well at last, yet were in themselves of

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Add to this the personal aversion king George is known to have had for Mr. Walpole, tho' he may cover it, as long as he thinks him necessary for his service. The prince of Wales, his son, is more open in his resentments; and all that depend on him are ready to take the first opportunity of joining in

Mr.

Mr. Walpole's ruin, which must happen when a new parliament comes to be chosen, i. e. after another session, but will probably happen, as soon as the present session determines, and of this there are very evident signs, which I shall in the next place mention. Mr. Walpole, for a twelvemonth past, has been pelted with pamphlets and papers of all sorts, in verse and in prose, written by men of all parties, and particularly by some even of those, with whom he was formerly united, and who are very zealous at heart; at least they pretend so to be, for supporting the present government. This is a never failing mark of the approaching fall of any minister. Another is, the gradual increase of the minority in the house of commons, which voted against the court, since this session began. Every division wherein the public was concerned, added to their number; so that from 80, with which they set out, they came at last to 124: and Mr. Walpole, observing their growing strength, was forced to stop in a very extraordinary manner, by procuring a vote, while his majesty stood firm, to prevent all farther enquiry's during this session of parliament. Nothing can shew a minister to be harder driven, than his resorting to this expedient, which can serve only a present turn: it betrays a fear of such enquiries, and that fear will bring them in at last with great weight and vehemence.

The immense fortune he has rais'd in a few years (whereas he was worth nothing, when he came last into power) has exposed him to great envy: particularly on account of the manner of his raising it, which has been by taking the advantage of his post, to watch the rise and fall of stock, and (as his enemies say) to * * * * on it: by which means he is become by far the richest commoner in the realm. The distribution of preferments has been chiefly to his relations and dependents, without a regard to any other merit, than that of an implicit resignation of themselves to his conduct and measures.

Illegible

The constitution during his power, has suffer'd in divers other respects. The law has been alter'd as to the choice of new parliament men: before they were chosen for three years only; now they may be continued for seven, which has made it more easy for him to influence and corrupt the house of commons. The habeas corpus act, the chief bulwark of the English liberties, has been frequently suspended: a standing army has been fixed upon the nation, augmented gradually on various pretences, and those additional forces

never

MEMOIRS OF SIR ROBERT WALPOLE.

Period III. never afterwards laid down. Every one of the conditions, upon which king 1720 to 1727 George accepted the crown, has been relaxed and laid aside; particularly that, whereby it was stipulated, that England shou'd never be engag'd in any quarrel which related to his foreign dominions. These and other steps by which the constitution has been undermined and subverted, are laid at Mr. Walpole's door by the public voice of the people.

That he is falling, appears even from those addresses, which he has with so much industry procur'd in his own commendation. For no minister, that sits firm and is in credit, ever has recourse to such methods of supporting himself: those that totter only want and make use of them. Foreigners may think otherwise; but Englishmen know well the force of this reasoning. If Mr. Walpole were not embarras'd and in danger, he would quicken this session of parliament, in order to give room to king George to make the early visit he intends to make to his Hanover territorys; whereas he manifestly protracts the expedition of business there depending: why? but in hopes of producing some plausible scheme of peace, when the assembly tir'd by attendance, is grown thin; and of closing it at last, by a general act of indemnity and pardon, necessary to screen him from danger.

In short, if he and his brother ministers were not diffident of their measures, why have they chang'd them of late so remarkably, and abated of their spirit, both in acting and treating? The first is notorious, particularly with regard to Spain: and as to the latter, the cardinal himself, may be appeal'd to, whether he does not find the English minister here, less imposing, and more docile and tractable, than formerly? If he does, he may satisfy himself that Mr. Walpole's approaching mortifications at home, are the cause of it. When he falls, his brother, lord Townshend, falls with him: for they two, are in effect the ministry, the rest are but their creatures and slaves. A new ministry will certainly pursue new measures; will run counter to those they succeed, and by laying of past misfortunes on them, establish their own power and popularity: and what then becomes of the Hanover treaty, when those who made it, are disgrac'd, and probably disgrac'd for making it? France will be stripp'd of its new ally, and left to shift for itself; and the cardinal will become the dupe of his own probity. He has but one way of surely avoiding this danger; and will he not take it? When he treats with the emperor; he treats with a fixed power, of which he is sure. When he treats with England, as it now stands, he treats with a minister, who influences the parliament,

ment, indeed, while he continues; but as he is in power to day, may be put Atterbury to-morrow. This is known to be the true state of the case, by all that know the present circumstances of England.

BISHOP ATTERBURY TO MR. DICCONSON.

On the death of his daughter.—Laments the fatal consequences of the peace between England and Spain.

SIR,

Montpelier, Dec. 4, 1719.

I Have your letter of 15 November, and am much obliged to you for the friendly concern you express in it. As to the article of my poor daughter, of whom, 7 days before the date of it, God was pleas'd to deprive me, upon a melancholy, yet comfortable meeting I had with her at Toulouse; where she surviv'd her arrival 21 hours, and spent that little time that was left her, in such a manner, as will make her memory ever dear and valuable to me. I thought nothing could have added to the affection and esteem I had for her: but I found myself mistaken, in those last moments, when she took her leave of me. She is gone, and I must follow her. When I do, may my latter end be like hers! It was my busines to have taught her to dye, instead of it she has taught me. I am not ashamed, and wish I may be able, to learn that lesson from her. What I feel upon her loss, is not to be express'd: but a reflection on the manner of it, makes me some amends. God has temper'd the severity of the one, by the circumstances of the other: and has dealt with me, as in the rest of his inflictions, so, as together with the great burthen he laid on me, to enable me at the same time, in some measure to bear it.

Orford
Papers.

Copy.

You will pardon me for entering into no other matter at present: not even that important one of the peace, which they write me word from Spain, is concluded; and by that means an end put to any hopes vainly conceived from those negotiations, and to all the ungrounded promises of the Spanish ministers at Paris. I have no inclination to enlarge on such matters now, or to trouble you or myself with reflections on what passes on the other side, either of the Pirenees or the Alpes. The great master of events, has wise reasons in every case for what he does, in regard to the public, or private persons, and we must submit to them, even when we do not comprehend or relish them. I am with true respect, yours, &c.

Period III.

1720 to 1727.

BISHOP ATTERBURY TO MR. TAYLOR OF BRIDEWELL.

Complains of the injustice of his brother's will, and requests his opinion in what manner he shall proceed in obtaining his paternal estate.

SIR,

Paris, Dec. 14, 1731.

Orford
Papers.

YOU'LL be surprised, and perhaps a little frightened, to receive a letter from me, after almost nine years interruption of our correspondence. But the occasion, on my side, is as extraordinary as the attempt, and will, I hope, excuse it. You cannot help being written to by me; nor is there any crime in it, if you reveal to a minister of state, the very first step of our intercourse: as I desire you would, for my sake as well as your own, in order to your obtaining leave in form, to make an answer to what I now write, or shall hereafter write on the same subject. 'Tis of such consequence to me, to have your advice and assistance, in an affair of law now depending, that I shall willingly be at the charge of a sign manual towards procuring it.

Sir, my elder and only brother lately dead, has dealt more cruelly with me, than the act of parliament did. For that left me the small temporal fortune I then had, and might afterwards justly expect, in order to keep me abroad from contempt and starving. But my brother taking advantage from my circumstances, which, he knew, would render it difficult for me to question whatever he should do, has endeavour'd to withdraw what the act itself intended I should enjoy, and to strip me by an unjust will he has made, of the patrimony which by law belongs to me. A small estate in land which he possess'd, was, in default of issue male from him, entail'd on me by my father. My brother has left no other issue, but a daughter, who had a good portion assign'd her, and inherits beside a good estate from her mother. To all this he has added, by his will the bequest of all that land, which my father in such an event, gave to him only for life, and to me after his death: and to alleviate and cover this injustice, he has given me an hundred pounds, by a codicil lately added to his will, and has mention'd me there with esteem and dearness; after never having shew'd any instance of either, since I was abroad, or assisted me with one shilling out of his fortune, at a time, when he did not know, but I might have stood in the utmost need of it. I am under no obligation therefore, to suffer the unrighteous disposition he has made of an estate given me by my father, to take place; if you shall find, that my title to it is good, and will allow me your assistance, in order to assert it. I am per-

suaded you will find no obstruction towards procuring leave for this purpose; Atterbury. it being matter of common humanity and justice, and within the intention of the act. As soon as you have obtained such leave, I will hope to hear from you, and in the mean time have desired Mr. Morice to do what can be done by him at this distance, towards laying the proper evidences and instructions before you. He may be of more use, in furnishing these, upon his return, than he can be now. However, I am not willing to loose any time, when I have so little of it left, and my 70th year is (as you know it is) near approaching. Haste in this case is requisite, if I hope to be the better for what my father designed me, and thought he had without wronging any body convey'd to me in due form of law. If he did so, and it really belongs to me, there is no man of worth and honour, who will think it unfit, that I should be put by your means, into a condition of recovering it. Be pleased to make the steps that are proper in this case, and to add this obligation to the others, you have formerly laid on, &c.

No. 2. Examination of William Morice, and letters from him and others.

*The examination of William
Morrice of Kensington in the county
of Middlesex, Esq.*

HE says he knows of no letters that were written to the late bishop of Rochester from hence during the time of his being in France; that all the late bishop's papers had been secured in France before this examinee's arrival there; that the late bishop before his death apply'd to the French court by Mr. Lloyd, Mr. Buckley, and one Mr. Sempill, who calls himself lord Sempill, that his effects might be secured in case of his death for this examinee, but a difficulty being made of it, the late bishop wrote a letter to Mr. Buckley, desiring he would meddle in it no further; that when the late bishop dyed as the examinee was told by the said Sempill the papers were all carry'd to the Scots colledge, where they were sealed up with a publick seal of office; that when this examinee desired to have them, he was told that it was not known, that they belonged to him; that upon much solicitation he was allowed to have his family papers, and the seal was taken off in his presence and a commissary lookt over them and gave this examinee what he thought proper; that Mr. Lloyd was present and any letters of his that were met with were

Period III. returned to him: the like was done by Mr. Buckley and any others that were present; that he the examinee has not, nor ever had any other papers but those that were found with the baggage that came with his body, or were taken upon him the examinee and that he has not yet lookt into them. Being told that as he was present when the commissary opened the papers, he must know what they were, he answers there were many letters from lord Marishal, from the duke of Ormond, and other people that he knows nothing of. That there was a parcel of papers relating to the late bishop's tryal, but the commissary would not let this examinee have them. That the papers were in the custody of father Innes at the Scots colledge, and the persons present when they were opened, were the commissary, Innes, and Mr. Dickenson, who were named in the garde des feaux's order, Mr. Lloyd at the examinee's desire, Mr. Sempill, alias lord Sempill who first had secured the papers and carry'd them to the Scots colledge, and others who accidentally came in, and the examinee. That what papers were in French and in Latin were lookt into by the commissary so far as to see of what nature they were, those in English Mr. Dickenfon lookt into and told the commissary what they were, where any were directed to this examinee or endorsed with his name, or appeared to belong to him, they were delivered to him, the rest were all kept from him. Being askt whether among the late bishop's papers there were any letters from the pretender, the examinee answers, that he does not know that there were, that there were letters endorsed from Rome; but all those letters from Rome or Spain were all kept and never put into his power; that there were none that he knows of from England except from this examinee and his wife.

Capt. 1^o. die Maii 1702.

coram nobis

W.M. MORICE

HOLLES NEWCASTLE

HARRINGTON

* Under *Extracts of letters from Mr. Delafaye** to Earl Waldegrave about Atterbury's
secretary of state.
Papers.

Waldegrave (Whitehall, March 3, 1731-2.) YOUR excellency's private letters to my
Papers. lord duke of Newcastle and to me, bring Mr. Pelham back to you sooner than
perhaps you expected; I believe you will not be sorry to have his assistance in
an

an affair of this nature, which will be difficult to compass, but well worth the while, if it can be brought about. I remember that as cautious as he was, and careful to put every thing out of the way when he was seized here, I found among his loose papers a letter he had written to the pretender, but having, I suppose, mist the opportunity of sending it, he had laid it by, and forgot to destroy it. As he might not be under the same apprehensions now that he was then, and his death was sudden, probably there are some curiositys to be met with in his scrutore, if one knew how to come at them. I return you one, which shewes his spirit and ill nature held out till the last. What a pity it is that so good parts should have been in such bad hands. As to your excellency's having intermeddled in getting the *scellé* put to his effects, and his claiming your protection as an Englishman, the attorney general agreed with me in opinion, that he had no right to the priviledge of a subject: however, if your excellency's own seal would have done, and that you could by that means have had the fingering of his papers, one would have done him that favour. This circumstance of his willingness that your excellency should have had this precious deposit, rather than they should have fallen into some other hands, might be made use of as an argument to my friend Morris, if he were talked with; but at the same time it is one with me, that he had been thinking of securing his papers, and had destroy'd the most considerable of them.

(Whitehall, May 11, 1732.) THE seizing of Mr. Morrice, and the searching of vessels from France for the late bishop of Rochester's corpse, has made some noise here; which may perhaps have reached your parts; but considering what part the deceased had acted, and how nearly related to, and how much intrusted by him the other was, it is not surprising that the government should have a curiosity to peep into the papers that came over by that opportunity, out of which some useful informations might be gathered; and that is all the use that one would make of them. My lord duke of Newcastle hopes your excellency will again excuse his not writing; and I beg you will always be persuaded of the zeal and respect with which I have the honour to be, my lord, your excellency's most humble, and most obedient servant.

We had last Tuesday a smart attack in the house of commons about Dunkirk, much to the same effect as that of which I lately gave your excellency an account in the house of lords; the debate was more than ordinary warm and bitter.

(Lon-

Period III.
1720 to 1727.

Letters and extracts of letters from William Morice to Bishop Atterbury.

(London, 11 Jan. 1726-7.) I Lately sent you Gulliver's travels: the re-puted author, dean Swift, made very kind enquiries after you, thro' our Twit-tenham friend, and was pleased to hear he had been mentioned by you in some of your letters. He came over hither publicly to see his friends, and divert • Pope. himself, and was almost constantly with Mr. P.*

MY HONOUR'D LORD,

January 2, 1727-8.

THE inclosed letter to Mrs. Morice, and her answer to it, are both neces-sary, I think, for your lordship's perusal. You will koose no time in let-ting me have your thoughts on the subject; for I am impatient till I receive such an answer from you, as may be shewn the lady. I hope Mrs. Morice's answer, which she was forc'd to write in a fort of hurry, the messenger waiting for it, contains nothing improper. What is mention'd about Mr. Mead's being with me, related, I suppose to the payment for the coronation lace, but I never saw Mr. Mead on that occasion. He poor man, was taken ill, just as he must have receiv'd the orders to settle that affair, and is since dead. No doubt her grace will soон give fresh orders on that head. The fan you'll observe, was sent my wife, is the finest my eyes ever beheld, fit for a coronation, and probably worn that day. We have since had a haunch and side of venison, from Leighs, and frequently kind messages from thence. All these civilities came after Mrs. M. had delivered the little tokens, which it is plain were not unwelcome, but kindly taken.

I also send you the letter I received from Mr. Pope just after my arrival, that you may see his reason for not writing to me at Paris: he came soon after to see me, and was full of his kind enquiries after you.

The story of lord and lady Mar has been related to me, and by this time 'tis as well known here as abroad. As to that lor's scheme, which you hear has been printed in French and English, I have enquir'd after it, and at last find it is so. Whenever I am able to get any of them, you shall hear of them at Paris. I don't find they are in very many hands. Happening to have a lit-tle acquaintance with Mist the journalist, I ask'd him whether he had heard of any such scheme, and of its being in print. He told me he had one or two of the papers sent him from Holland, he can't guess from what hand, they came in a blank cover by the post, and not being willing, in his circumstances to med-dle

ble with affairs of such a nature, he gave the copy to one of the profession, who had formerly done him some little civilities, that he might reap some profit by the publication of it, and he might very well venture publishing it, since he was not ill look'd upon by the ministry. The man was much pleas'd with the thing, and very thankful to Mist for putting him in the way of getting some money; but before he went so far as to publish it, he had the caution to wait on sir R. W. and consult him upon it; sir R. W. (as I am told) was struck very much at reading the paper, and wanted to know from whence the man had it, said it was of consequence, and must come from some great man. The printer desir'd to be excus'd from naming names, being under a promise not to do it. Sir R. bid him stop doing any thing about it till he saw him again, and appointed him a time to come to him again. At the 2d interview, sir R. insisted so strongly upon knowing from what hand the man had the paper (promising the person that gave it him shou'd come into no trouble about it) that he brought the fellow to own he had receiv'd it from Mr. Mist, who acquainted him he receiv'd it by the post from Holland. Sir R. seem'd surpriz'd, bid the man go look for Mist, and desire him to come to him, but Mist has hitherto avoided going, as knowing nothing of the matter more than that such a paper came to him by the post. Sir R. has forbid the publication of it, and Mist is under some apprehensions of being troubled, under some pretext or other, for the sake of this affair. This is all I can tell you of this matter.

As to public news, upon what footing our present set of ministers stand, people dont agree. 'Tis generally thought sir R.'s fate, as a minister, depends upon the success of foreign affairs: 'tis confidently said there are divisions and uneasinesses amongst those at the helm, and that the new created peer* and sir R. differ very much, which 'tis not unlikely may end in the re-^{* Lord Will-} removal of sir R. tho' they say he has ingratiated himself extremely with her mington. majesty, being the only person who ventur'd to propose so large a dowry as 100,000*l.* and to promise the obtaining it in parliament; sir Sp. C. not naming above 70,000*l.*

The report of sir R.'s having deliver'd petitions from Kelly and Plunkett, was very true, but I dont find, as yet, the good effect of 'em. If an act of grace, which some people say is to be brought in next sessions, should come, 'tis believed those two petitioners will be included in it, at least discharg'd about that time; if so, why is somebody else kept abroad? You observe rightly, that all things dont run in one channel, as they did in the late reign, and that

MEMOIRS OF SIR ROBERT WALPOLE.

Period III. that sir R.'s influence in ecclesiastical affairs is at an end. Nor has the arch-bishop of Canterbury any power in that matter. He imagin'd he shou'd have the first week or fortnight of the new reign, and people thought so too, but he found his recommendations are disregarded, and so he has chose to sit still at Lambeth, and tells every body he has no interest at court. The queen seems chiefly to manage that branch, tho' not absolutely, for she intended Dr. Hare for the bishoprick of Bath and Wells, and Dr. Sherlock for that of Norwich, but the whole ministry united in their representations against it, al-ledging 'twou'd disoblige the whole bench of bishops to have the new consecrated ones let into the best preferments at once; and to carry their point, they put Wynn upon taking Bath and Wells (for which it seems he made no application himself) and Baker upon taking Norwich to disappoint Sherlock.

Dr. Friend is a great man at court, and his reputation as a Physician greatly raised by lord Townshend's recovery, after the whig doctors, particularly Hulse, who attended in conjunction with Friend and Sloane, differ'd so greatly with Dr. Friend, as to quit his further attendance on my lord, and declare his lordship must die, if he followed the course Dr. Friend was for taking with him. But his lordship declared he would live or die by the hands of Friend, and so Hulse took his leave, and his lordship is, contrary to most people's expectations past all danger. Dr. Friend some time ago recovered lord Lynne, after the other physicians had given him over, and also soon after recover'd the second son, so that the Townshend family owe the doctor three lives. This intimacy of Dr. J. Friend at court has made way for the civilities, which the publick prints inform you, have been paid Westminster school by the young prince's honouring them with his presence, and seeing a play acted by the king's scholars at the college. Dr. Bob is to have a prebendary, the first vacancy is promised, so he is to fill the second; but if that dont happen soon, some people imagine he may be disappointed notwithstanding present appearances, and his early compliments to the present reign, for the Monday following the death of the old king: the theme he gave in school was a little out of the way, and I am at a loss to find out the wit of it, 'twas this;

Nunquam libertas gravior extat quam sub rege novo.

methinks pio might have stood as well, and been as good a compliment to a new king. Sometime after the young prince begg'd a play, and upon the occasion, the theme given for the boys to exert their talents upon was, *Celebrate ducem qui vobis otia fecit.* And I foresee the next anniversary meeting

of Westminster scholars, on the 15th instant, will vary very much from the last, when great care was taken not to dip into flattery and party. There will be enough of both this year. In short, people seem generally to have changed their countenances (during my absence) at least they appear to me in a different light from what I us'd to view them in; they look at the same time a little silly, as if they were got between two stools, and afraid of dropping between. Some few indeed still keep their old faces. I had laid aside all thoughts of mentioning to L. what happened on your side in relation to him before your letter came to forbid me, as judging it not proper, according to what I find in his present way of thinking.

Atterbury.

(Feb. 9, 1727.) Sir R. W. seems to be better establish'd in his ministry every day, and is said to have publickly declared in the house of commons, that his present majesty is resolved to pursue the late king's measures, and to make use of the same set of men. The late speaker has lost his interest pretty much at court, and nobody has him in that esteem he might have expected, had he shewn a proper spirit and put himself forward at first. 'Tis now, I believe, out of his power, and he must content himself with the lowest seat in the upper house. If the court of Spain recedes, and comes into the terms proposed from hence, so that a congress ensue and peace be made, sir Robert is certainly prime minister for life. I hear nothing of any acts of grace.

Oxford
Papers.

(May 8, 1728.) As to your affairs in my hands, your frugality will, I doubt not, leave sufficient to answer any extraordinary accidents which may happen, over and above your constant necessary expence: tho' they are not, in some respects, in so good a condition as when we parted; for (by the continuance of a certain great person at the head of affairs, in paying off several public debts, by coining paper instead of money, and drawing people in to be content therewith, or satisfy'd with a reduction of interest) all manner of interest is brought very low. Bonds, that us'd to bear 5, are now continued at 4 per cent. and at that rate of interest they bear a premium. Mortgages also are fallen in the interest; and Mr. Lynn, from whom I have a 1000*l.* mortgage, gave me notice the beginning of March last, that he wou'd pay me off at three months end, unless I was willing to take for the future 4 per cent. I stood out against it, but being sensible where he had just agreed to take up the money from another person, I thought it best to comply, and have agreed to let him have the money *a year longer* at 4 per cent.; for had it been paid

MEMOIRS OF SIR ROBERT WALPOLE.

Period III. me in, I dont see how I could have disposed of it to better advantage. Al-
720 to 1727 derman Barber has also given me notice that the mortgage he has, on an estate in Kent, for 8,000*l.* and upwards, wherein you know I am concerned 3,000*l.* for you, has been offer'd to be paid off, unless he consents to lower the interest, which he must be oblig'd to consent to, and then I must do the same as to the proportion of the 3,000*l.* Thus you fee, your annual income will be somewhat lessen'd.

As to publick news, sir Robert is as absolute in parliament at present as ever; but Mr. P. pushes him hard, and how long he will stretch the bow, before it breaks, no body can tell; but the opinion of many knowing men is, that he drives too fast not to be thrown at laſt. There is a fresh talk of a new act of grace, whether it will do any good to any body but the present sett of ministers, I can't learn. Lord Marr's house is actually fitting up, and his family give out that he will be over very ſoon. I suppose he won't return home alone. Shall any of those memorials be ſent about on this ſide? You desire to know the names of the preſent bishops (excepting ſuch as you know and mention in your letter) you might have mentioned ſome others, whom you muſt very well remember. However, I add all that you make no mention of, in the incloſed liſt, and 'tis very certain that you judge right in thinking the benc h to be under a great degree of contempt. That it might become ſo, was one reaſon why you were drove abroad, the court not desiring any figure ſhould be made by any that belong to it, and now they are pretty ſafe on that head. I can't learn what expenſe the royal guest occaſion'd at Hitcham; 'tis certain Dr. Friend made great preparations; whether he will compaſs the making his brother *Bob* a bishop, I much doubt, for ſir R. W. has gained his point in relation to church preferments, and you will ſcarce hear of any more ſuch promotions as Hare (who is now bishop of St. Asaphs) and Sherlock. Her maſt y, they ſay, conſults and does nothing without ſir R.'s leave on that head.

THE DUCHESS OF BUCKINGHAM TO MRS. MORICE.

MADAM,

December 2, 1727.

I Beg to know from you, whether Mr. Mead has been with Mr. Morice about a little matter I bid him do, and I ſhould be glad to know of Mr. Morice his opinion of the act of parliament concerning the bishop of R. I had it by me, but 'tis miſlaid. In eaſe my ſon ſhould go to France to follow his exerſices, better

better than he can learn 'em here, whether he may not be seen and examined sometimes how Mr. Costa dos instruct him, without any hazard of forfeiture to a child. I know his mama could not have the advantage of hearing ~~her~~self his opinions without a forfeiture, people would very willingly take. In short, the king has forbid me and my son the libertys we were permitted in his father's (and which confines my son from air and exercise in town) reign, and I was no favourite in it. But by the duchess of Kendal's means, I had a few common acts of breeding and humanity shewn me, that of the same priviledges of the king's park, which I was allowed in queen Anne's reign; and the promise not to pardon Ward, which I doubt if I should have obtained now, tho' I fancy'd myself a sort of favourite of the queen's, because I have about ten letters under her hand, which flatters me with it; and many personal assurances besides. I confess I am much tempted to breed my son abroad, if I could secure his religion well, and education better, tho' his affairs, and the odd agents I believe every body has, who has intricate matters to manage, makes it impracticable for me to settle, as I could wish, with him; yet I could visit him, when I was not otherways necessarily employ'd. And indeed betwixt the great easiness of his governour (tho' otherwise a valuable man) he is always visiting and following the calls of good for nothing courtiers, to the loss of the time he ought to bestow on his pupil. So that in the country only, or in another country, one can have him as much at home as is requisite. First, I have nothing passes in my family I would give three farthings to hide, yet I am sure the gossiping women, and such kind of men send and invite him to dinner and supper, in hopes to pick something from him of what passes in conversation, either from me or my company, makes 'em make the rout they do with him, who really is too good a sort of man to be a pleasure to them, tho' he has that fault of his country, too great an awe and respect for people in power, only because they are so. And I begin to fear, the people whom I must necessarily have at my table and house, as stewards and agents about business, will grow to make their court to my son, at the expence of flattery, and methods may come to spoil him at home, tho' yet I have prevented that hazard from servants, and such as make an home education dangerous. Could I carry my son to France, and leave him under what part of your papa's direction he would have the good nature to undertake, I should think I did the best I could now for him; and really as to what progress he makes in learning, I am entirely ignorant of. I know his governor is reckoned a great scholar, and is a man without any vices: yet I do believe my son will be a little too headstrong or too

MEMOIRS OF SIR ROBERT WALPOLE.

Period III. ^{1720 to 1727.} cunning for him in a short time. Tho' to me he is very tractable and very fond of me, yet his natural temper is pretty warm, very eager for what he fancies at all; and consequently should have his time much and well taken up, as he now is near twelve years of age: this thought of at all parting with him, is very hard to me, yet I begin to fear the ill effects of allways an home education, and I fear our schools at Westminster or Eaton for his health, and for the jumble it may now make between their manner of learning, and what he has had, and I wish I could any way get good advice in relation to it. Could I have an opinion safely asked, I should be glad; and by this servant, I send to town, should be glad to receive some anfwer. I am ever, madam, your faithfull servant.

MRS. MORICE TO THE DUCHESS OF BUCKINGHAM.

MADAM,

Holland house, December 3, 1727.

MR. Morice has turn'd his thoughts upon that part of your grace's letter, in which you do him the honour of asking his opinion. The act of parliament, he says, is worded with so much malice, and wicked ill nature, that it is difficult to give any opinion upon it. 'Tis certain there is no exception for any body, but such as have the king's sign manual: and consequently any fett of ministers have it in their power to be troublesome or not, as their good or ill dispositions shall lead them. However, he thinks there may be a method found out of fulfilling in a great measure your grace's intentions about my lord duke, upon which head he will explain himself further when he has the honour of waiting on you next. At present he is willing to say no more, having a good opportunity (by a friend who sets out for Paris next week) of sending for a better opinion than his own, and, in a short time after, he may reasonably expect to receive an answer, by a very safe conveyance. Upon this occasion, madam, give me leave to say, that I am sure there is nothing in the world would please my papa more, than to become usefull in the education of my lord duke. He has told us more than once, when we were last with him, that were he restored to his own country again, he should turn his time and thoughts to nothing more zealously; and, as far as it can be brought about, he will, I know, be pleased at being usefull in the same way abroad. If your grace has any commands for Mr. Morice, he is allways glad and ready to receive them. He's never above an hours drive from London, and so not out of the way of doing any thing, wherein your grace judges him of use. He offers his humble respects; and I am, &c.

This

This letter from Mr. Morice to bishop Atterbury is particularly curious, as it contains, though couched in obscure, and not always intelligible terms, proofs of Atterbury's correspondence with the jacobites in England; the reports circulated upon his retiring from Paris, and the disadvantage that would result to the pretender from that event.

MY HONOUR'D LORD,

June 24, 1728.

MR. Elliot, whom for the future, I shall call Mr. Hereford,* has brought me all the papers, and the four pamphlets you sent by him. I shall take care to distribute them properly. I forwarded your two letters to father Courayer, who resides generally at lord Percival's country seat near Black Heath, but as to the pacquet you mention to have sent, addressed to Mr. Langby, no such parcel is yet come to my hands. Mr. Hereford declares he never received any other, than those already delivered to me, and it is not amongst them. I conclude therefore you must have sent it by some other hand. I wish it were arrived, that Pere Courayer might be at ease on that head. I cannot express to you the pleasure some of your late papers have given me, and in which Mrs. Morice also has taken her share. Your discourse on some verses in the 12 Aeneid, and your version of Virgil's first Elogue, are exceedingly beautiful; in both, you have set a pattern which no genius, that I know of, can pretend to come up to. I have communicated a copy of the discourse (for I am resolv'd to keep the original myself) to the physician. He was mightily pleas'd upon casting his eye over a small part of it; I have not seen him since he has had time to consider the whole. It cannot fail of giving him infinite pleasure, as your application of it, to him, does him vast honour: in a little time I suppose I shall have some sort of return to make you from him. The other piece, I shall put into the hands of our Twitnam friend, in a day or two, for which purpose I design him a visit. You have succeeded so well in the beginning and towards the end of Virgil's works, that I shall long to see some more pieces of the same kind, drawn from other parts of that excellent author, who can never have his works so finely illustrated by any other hand.

I design from henceforth to follow the rule you prescribe, and shall *de die in diem*, set down every thing that occurs worthy of your notice, in a paper to be

* This person is mentioned under the name of Hereford, in Atterbury's epistolary correspondence, published by Nichols.

Period III. afterwards transmitted to you. I agree 'twill be an easy method for me, and
1720 to 1727. it becomes me to comply with it, as it is your desire. At present, there is very little employ for me that way. There is a sort of stagnation of news, for it can be none to tell you that sir R. W. gains ground, and governs more absolutely than in the latter reign. Mr. Pulteney's removal from the lieutenancy of one of the Yorkshire ridings, is one instance of sir R. W.'s power, and of his resolution to crush all opposition with an high hand, and to rule with an absolute sway. It is certain, there are powerful parties against him, but he seems to despise them all. The E. of Scarborough (as well as the late speaker) is, I hear, among the disgusted, but nothing will be able effectually to shock the great man, if affairs go on well at Soissons. All sides agree, his fate depends on the success of the negotiations there.

* **Friend.** Dr. I. F.* is a very assiduous courtier, and must grow so more and more every day, since his quondam friends and acquaintances shun and despise him, and whenever he happens to fall in the way of them, he looks, methinks, very sillily. He is in great hopes (as I have heard) of obtaining a bishopric for his brother Bob, and not without expectation of placing him in the see of Rochester, and deanery of Westminster, if old Bradford would be so kind as to make way for him: in that case, he is (as 'tis said in the family) to be preceptor to prince William. But this scheme, I scarce believe will ever be compassed, for the great sir R. W. not only hates but despises the family of the Friends, and while his power lasts at the pitch it now is, they will never be able to obtain such extended views.

I am glad to find, from the tenour of all your late letters, and the way of spending your time, that you are so much at ease in body and mind, and that you have at last taken up the resolution of doing yourself justice by drawing up your case, which the world expects to see one day or other, and your friends and well-wishers are often questioning me about it. The noise of your having quitted the banker, reached me here, before it came over from your side the water. It gave occasion to various reports, and I have heard, was publicly talked of at St. James's. Some said you were discarded, upon a discovery that you were making your peace, and paving your return home again, at the expence of the person who had entrusted you with his affairs. Others would have it, that you found you were betray'd in every step you took, in relation to that person, by agents with whom you were oblig'd to act in concert, and therefore as you could do no good, you took the part to retire. Others reported, that you had enjoy'd a pension of 4000*l.* per annum

from

from this government ever since you were abroad; that it might now be a fit time to call you home again, and your leaving Paris was a step towards it. Many other idle reports were rais'd, and put into the mouths of proper tools to disperse them. Some people argu'd here in the same manner, as they did at Paris, that it look'd, as if matters went very ill in somebody's favour, when the only person abroad, capable of doing service to him or his cause, had not the management of it, but seemed to give it up for lost. Others, who formerly had other sentiments than they have at present, said, 'twas no wonder if you had at last quitted the trouble of conducting a cause (supposing you had the principal management of it) which was visibly expiring, and that you chose to get rid of a person, who will never do himself any good, but will (first or last) treat every one ill without regard to merit or sufferings.

These are the chief reports which I have met with, grounded upon your retirement into the country; at which some folks seem glad, and others sorry; but on all hands 'tis agreed, that the interest of a certain person must suffer very much by it: for the imagination (whether grounded or not) that you heartily espoused his cause, gave him a sort of credit, which he may find the want of hereafter. And nobody, as I can learn, lays any blame on you for quitting (supposing you ever were in that person's affairs) but on him for suffering you to retire, and having, as they suppose, given occasion for it. This is all I have at present to say, on this subject, more than that a certain great lord, and lawyer, was very inquisitive about the truth of the report, at a certain lady's* hôtel of our acquaintance, but the lady could not satisfy him any *Duchess of Buckingham.

thing about it. You may be sure I miss no opportunity of acquainting my neighbour in the park, with your state in every respect, who loves to hear of you, and is sincerely affected with any thing that touches you. I was question'd there, in relation to your retirement, which seem'd to give some concern. It was immediately judg'd, that a certain great relation would suffer by it, and loose a good share of his interest, by not shewing you more regard.

Some of our late letters have been fill'd with the melancholy news of the death of friends. Last week we lost another. On Monday evening died poor Dr. Chamberlen, after a lingring illness. His death indeed was not so great a surprise, as that it did not happen sooner. He has been visibly decaying a long time. The young duke of Buckingham will have a loss in him, for 'tis to his tender care of him, that his grace, in a great measure owes his life. The duchess also will greatly miss him, and is sensibly concern'd at the loss. He died at Buckingham house, from whence her grace immediately retired, and

MEMOIRS OF SIR ROBERT WALPOLE.

Period III. and is not to return till after the funeral is over. Three days before his
1720 to 1727 death (when it was to be read in his face) Mrs. Morice and I were admitted to see him. He enquired very affectionately after you, and desir'd us not to forget his service to you.

I some time ago told you of an intention there was of sending the young duke to Paris. It was designed in good earnest as you'll see by the inclos'd part of a letter to me, and that somebody's opinion to the contrary, hinder'd it. Your advice is of the greatest weight there, and whatever friends you may happen to loose (as some very good ones have gone off lately) there remains one who will, I dare say, make as much amends as is possible for the loss of others. I have reason to believe so, and that you in time will find so. My Welch friend is gone out of town, without discharging the annuity, but he did not go without seeing me, and assuring me that it shou'd be paid, when he return'd to town again. 'Twas not very genteely done, but I dare say, I shall get the money at last.

In a letter of yours, some considerable time ago, you seem'd not very earnest whether I push'd the matter (about changing bankers) with Mr. H. very strongly or not. I did, at my first coming over, just touch upon that string, but found that H. had a strong inclination in favour of Mr. A. and that it would not be an easy point to prevail over him to take the business, which he himself had put into A's hands, out of them again. I therefore have desisted from maintaining and pressing the matter a second time, but can yet do it, if you insist upon it, tho' I believe it will scarce be worth while, for Mr. H. is declining apace. He had to other day, a terrible shock, which had like to have carried him off, and if he should happen to drop, 'twill be an easy point for me to recommend such a banker, for the future, as you desire. Now I am mentioning Mr. H. 'tis not improper to acquaint you, that you are very high in his esteem. He visits me pretty often, purely to enquire after your health and prosperity. I am apt to think he has it in his head to do something, and show his regard for you in his will; this conjecture, I draw from his just hinting his surprize to me, the other day, that nothing of that kind had happened since your exile, upon the death of those who were your known well-wishers. Such a design, if he has it, should surely be a little encouraged, the example may have a very good effect. What if you took occasion, by some private hand, of kindly mentioning him, in such a manner as you judge proper forme to let him see; I think 'twould not be amiss. He often enquires touching your circumstances, and says people were not so generous as they ought

ORIGINAL CORRESPONDENCE.

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bought to have been, and believes one reason of your retirement may be to Atterbury.
fave expences.

Mr. Hereford carries the two volumes of the bishop of Coventry's defence of his book against scripture prophecys.

I think I have now answer'd every paragraph of your letters except one, which is so full of fatherly tenderness, friendship and affection, that it cannot but make the deepest impressions on me as well as Mrs. Morice. We are both greatly affected by it, and in return, I can only assure you, that I have no greater pleasure in life, than being of some little use to you, and that were it not highly inconvenient for your affairs (to say nothing of my own) I should never desire to be absent from you, but should make it my choice to be always near you, in order to ease you as much as possible of the inconveniency, I am sensible you must be under for want of proper hands about you. Sure the tables will turn in time, and I am willing to think God has not restored you so great and unexpected a share of health, but for some good end, and that we shall at last see you return in honour and triumph to your own country again. That indeed would be the happiest day my wishes can frame to themselves, and 'till good providence brings it about, the best thing you can do for my wife and me, is to take care of your own health abroad. Our interest is wrapp'd up in your happiness, and you can never leave any thing behind you to compensate for the loss we shall sustain, if ever you happen to go before us. This is the dictate of Mrs. Morice's heart, as well as my own. No news as yet of my brother Obby. I have made several applications for the 150*l.* expected so long ago. That worthy gentleman is lately gone into the north, and has promis'd me faithfully to push the matter, so as a remittance may be speedily made.

Mr. Sh—n* fees me sometimes, he keeps his honesty at a time, when almost *Shippens every body is wavering. He is gone to spend the recess of parliament, as usual, in Northumberland, and won't return till it meets again, when I dare say, you will hear of him approving himself the same man you left him. I am commission'd to send you a thousand services. I have now almost tir'd myself, as I fear I have you long before. But I am glad of such opportunities, as the bearer affords me, of writing to you. If he tarrys 'till to-morrow, Mrs. Morice threatens you with a letter. I am with the utmost gratitude and respect, my dear honoured lord, &c.

Period III. (Sept. 26, 1728.) I don't much wonder to hear of Kelly's writing, and
1728 to 1727. complaining he is supplanted. Hitherto he has had a plentiful allowance, ever since his confinement, ten guineas per month, thro' my hands, and what other benefactions he may have had, I can't tell; but I believe he has chosen to live well, and lay up little or nothing. And now there seems to be an end of the collection which has annually been made towards paying him 120 guineas yearly. Several of the benefactors are dead; several weary of such incumbrances; and the whole club (from whence greatest part of the bounty came) is in a manner dissolved. He has written teizing letters to me, and I think of pressing Mr. Cotton, our steward, whose note you know I have for the remainder of 500*l.* (of which 200*l.* is still unpaid) to pay off that balance, that I may apply it for Kelly's use. You never order'd me to pay him that sum in ready money (nor should he have it all at once, whilst he continues a prisoner) unles I could obtain the payment of Cotton's note, or some such other remnants, which are like to lay by a great while unpaid. However, if Kelly's necessitys encrease, I must, I believe, supply him with a little ready money, whether I can get any from Cotton or not; and I shall expect to hear more from you on that head.

(April 14-25, 1729.) I told you in a former letter, that I apprehended I should be oblig'd to supply K. with money, whether Mr. Cotton paid the 200*l.* remaining due on his note, or not. I can't get that money yet of Cotton, but there is now a necessity of letting K. have money, on account of the promise he claims from you of 200*l.*; for all subscriptions, for his support, have been long at an end, and folks are grown weary of continuing that bounty. Wherefore I have found it necessary to assist K. and that the 200*l.* may not be squander'd away at once, and he left in want, I advance him six guineas per month. I hope you'll approve of what I've done. Some people of rank (formerly your benefactors) sent to me on this head, and there was no avoiding my compliance in it.

(Sept. 26, 1728.) All I can now tell you, as to reports relating to yourself is, that I was assur'd near two months ago, that sir R. W. had given out, that you had entirely shook off the affairs of a certain person, were grown perfectly weary of that drooping cause, and had made some steps (by means of the ambassador at Paris) towards not being left out in the general act of grace, which,

it is every now and then talked, will pass the next session of parliament; and Atterbury. that you desir'd above all things to come home, and end your days in your own country. With what view this report has been spread by sir R. W. I can't tell, but I have it from undoubted intelligence, that he has caus'd it to be rumour'd.

(April 14-25, 1729.) As to public matters, they go on in the old channel; sir R. carries every thing as he pleases, tho' the opposition he meets with in the house of commons has, no doubt, sufficiently vex'd and teized him this session; and the pamphlets, which have been constantly publish'd without doors, must have given him no little uneasiness. The Craftsman, you see every week. That paper gives a pretty good insight into affairs; and many are still of opinion, that the great man will scarce be able to hold his power, a year longer; tho' I fancy, that depends upon the event of matters abroad; but the most judicious men with whom I happen sometimes to converse, think him so well rivetted in the king and queen's good graces, that they won't part with him.

1723.

CORRESPONDENCE OF ROBERT WALPOLE WITH LORD TOWNSHEND AND OTHERS.

ROBERT WALPOLE TO SIR LUKE SCHAUB.

Thanks him for his correspondence.—Expresses his satisfaction, that the conduct of the king's ministers at Hanover is approved by the French court.—Hopes that the duke of Orleans will be kept steady to his friendship with England.

SIR,

Whitehall, April 19, 1723.

I Have hitherto deferred acknowledging in a particular manner the several letters I have received from you, not knowing but an occasion might offer to make it proper to send a messenger to France, which however I was resolved now to delay no longer, altho' no particular business made it necessary. But I understand too, that you have no messengers on your side, which may

Hardwicke
Papers.

MEMOIRS OF SIR ROBERT WALPOLE.

Period III. make it of some use to have one with you. Your letter of the 22d instant,
1722 to 1727. N. S. is just come to hand; and I am very glad that the conduct of his
1723. master's ministers at Hanover meets so much with the approbation of the duke
of Orleans. This good correspondence is above all things to be cultivated;
and I always have read with pleasure, the several accounts you have sent me
of the good disposition of the duke of Orleans. It would be a great mis-
fortune if his uncertain temper should expose him to the influence and direc-
tions of persons less disposed, less well affected to the king's interest, than the
present ministers of France give us great reason to hope they are; and I know
not what is certainly to be determined in that view in regard to Mr. Law. If
the duke of Orleans is disposed to recal him, as Mr. Law's friends here are
very sanguine in hoping, it is not our business to obstruct it. But it is not easy
to judge, what is most to be wished for in that case, unless we knew the com-
petition, and upon whom the favour and confidence of the duke of Orleans
might probably fall. If Mr. Law does not return, there can be no doubt,
but the power might fall into worse hands, and if any who are neither English-
men by birth nor affection, should prevail, we should have a less chance, than
by admitting one who has sundry ties to wish well to his native country. But
perhaps Mr. Law's being thought agreeable or acceptable in England, would
not at all forward his return to France; for nothing but his being thought not
only an able but a good Frenchman can secure his being recalled.

As to the treaty between France and the Czar, I cannot but be very clearly
of opinion, that 'tis the interest of the king, that no separate treaty should be
made by them without England's being included. France will speak with a
great deal less weight, when that treaty is concluded, which cannot be supposed
to be so conditional, as to expect that France will afterwards break with the
Czar, altho' he should be never so unreasonable with regard to us; but you will
be a great deal better instructed upon this head from Hanover; and your own
knowledge and experience will enable you to judge better of an affair of con-
sequence, than I am able to advise you. But I was willing to take an oppor-
tunity of thanking you for your correspondence, which I desire you will con-
tinue, and be assured you shall have in me a faithful friend and servant.

ROBERT WALPOLE TO SIR LUKE SCHaub.

Period III.
1720 to 1727.*Rejoices in the prosperous appearance of affairs in France.—Congratulates du Bois on his success.*

1723.

SIR,

Whitehall, July 18, 1723.

I Returned but yesterday out of the country, where I have been for some few days to settle my own private affairs, or I had sooner acknowledged the favor of yours of the 15th instant. I now return you my thanks for the long and particular account you gave me of the state of affairs with you. It is a double satisfaction, not only to know the true springs and sources of transactions of such importance, but to be satisfied, that they succeed according to our best wishes.

Hardwicke
Papers.

I heartily congratulate the cardinal in the success he has had over his enemies, and hope a perfect recovery from his illness, will enable him to enjoy with comfort, the satisfaction of a quiet and undisputed administration. I am too sensible of what consequence a perfect good understanding betwixt the two crowns, is to their mutual interest and tranquility, to be indifferent about the life and power of a minister; upon whom so much depends. I beg, sir, you will continue your correspondence with freedom to me, and give me full information of what passes amongst you, which you may be sure I shall make no use of but for the interest of his majesty; I shall be always ready to return you all the marks of friendship that are in my power; for I am very truly, sir, your most faithfull, humble servant.

LORD TOWNSHEND TO ROBERT WALPOLE.

Military and naval preparations made by the czar, with a view probably to invade Sweden, and place the duke of Holstein on the throne.—Ill consequences of such an event to England.—Necessity of obviating the danger.—The king requests that 200,000 l. may be ready to be employed, if necessary, on this occasion.

SIR,

Hanover, July 16, 1723.

I Am now to write to you by the king's command, upon a busines of great secrecy as well as of importance. His majesty has received such advices as he can depend upon, that the czar has, or will, besides his strong squadron, embark a body of about twenty thousand men on board his galleys, to put in execution some secret design he has formed: the most probable, and what the king judges to be most feasible, is an attempt upon Sweden, in the distract'd and

Hardwicke
Papers.

(very secret.)

Copy.

Period III. and weak condition affairs are in there. If that is the project, as is most
1720 to 1727. likely, it must certainly be concerted with the mal-contents, and the Holstein
1723. faction in that kingdom, and may happen to produce a total revolution there
in favor of the duke of Holstein, should he happen to be set on the throne of
Sweden, by means of the fleet and arms of Russia. He, especially, being re-
puted none of the wisest princes, would necessarily be a mere dependant of the
czar's, and act according to his views, and under his directions; so that the
Muscovites would soon come to have the disposal of the ports of Sweden, and
we might in a little time see Swedish and Muscovite squadrons in conjunction
at Gottenburgh, able to terrify and distress all the coasts of Great Britain.

These prospects seem to the king to be of such infinite concern and im-
portance, that even upon the most uncertain appearance of them, the utmost
care should be taken to obviate the dangers that may ensue. I had the honor
to talk this morning pretty fully with his majesty upon this subject (only my
lord Carteret being present) which if it should take the least air in England,
might do great hurt to publick credit, and consequently to our other domestic
affairs. The king, tho' mighty tender and unwilling to make any proposal
that should seem to burthen his kingdoms, yet seeing in this exigency (when
the blow seems just ready to be struck, and no other previous measures can
possibly be taken) that nothing but a good sum of money of one or two hun-
dred thousand pounds at command, to be employed if the case shall require
it, can be of service to help us, he has ordered me with the utmost secrecy to
open this affair to you, and to let you know how much he relies on your fide-
lity, skill, and prudent conduct. You will please, therefore, to cast about in
your thoughts, how you may have at command, with the least noise possible,
one or two hundred thousand pounds, if necessary, to be disposed of, to prevent
the kingdom of Sweden falling under the disposal of the czar. What was
discoursed of this day before his majesty was this: If the czar's scheme,
as it seems to be formed, should entirely take effect, and the king of Sweden
should be driven out of all his dominions, then we must be as well with the
new monarch as we can, and take the best measures possible to secure the in-
terest of Great Britain. But if the king of Sweden should not lose all at
once; but be able to make a stand, and dispute his possession with his rival;
then the only method to disappoint the czar's designs, and to support and re-
instate the present king of Sweden, would be to have a sum of money ready to
assist the king of Denmark and other princes, who would be exceeding jealous
of

of such an exorbitant accession of power to the czar, to stand by his Swedish majesty, and to oppose the efforts of the Muscovites and the Swedish faction. <sup>Period III.
1720 to 1727.</sup>
The parliament will undoubtedly come into the giving a sanction to such a ^{1723.} disposal of money, for the good of the kingdom; since the king is bound by his last treaty to aid and succour his Swedish majesty in such a case; and if that prince had not been negligent, ill served, or worse amused, he would some time ago, upon the first appearance of the Holstein plot, have summoned his majesty to be ready to make good his engagements. At this time of the year, and upon so sudden an emergency, it would be a folly to think of equipping a sufficient squadron to prevent the blow, or to save the king of Sweden; besides that, it would cost more money than what is proposed to be employed, if the case I mentioned should happen. I must therefore desire you from his majesty, to let me have your thoughts and advice upon this most important matter, and whether in case of necessity, you can provide such a sum for this service.

The king has an entire dependance on your zeal for his service, more particularly in an affair where the safety of England, the balance of power, and the preservation of all his majesty's dominions, are so nearly and inseparably concerned; and expects to hear from you as soon as possible. You see the niceness of this point, and the many hazards of having our secret apprehensions get abroad; and therefore I need not employ many words in desiring you to keep the secret entirely to yourself, and to make your dispositions for doing what shall be found necessary in the most private manner that may be. You know any hint of secrecy does not extend to his grace the duke of Newcastle. Yours most entirely.

LORD TOWNSHEND TO ROBERT WALPOLE.

Affures him that the reports of lord Carteret's superior influence with the king, are totally unfounded.—Mentions rumours of the czar's intentions to attack Sweden; and the necessity of finding means to obviate his attempts.

DEAR SIR,

Hanover, July 23, 1723.

I hope this will find you safe returned from Norfolk, with some advantage to your own health, and without any detriment to the public service, from your journey. I am sorry the false and vain accounts which our friend* thinks proper to send over, of his superior interest at this place, should make the least impression on any one, or have given you a moment's uneasiness.

Hardwicke
Papers.
Private.
Copy.
Lord Car-
teret.
How

Period III. How greatly the facts on your side of the water, have been misrepresented, in
1720 to 1727. order to support this appearance, you are sufficiently sensible; and I can assure

1723. you, that nothing has passed here that can, without the greatest falsehood, be wrested to give the least countenance to any such opinion. You know that the king had declared his resolution of having the guards encamp some weeks before we left England; and I neither know nor can hear of any orders on this subject, that have been dispatched from hence. I employed a friend of ours to enquire, whether the king had been surprized into the signing any such order; and his majesty's answer was, that he had never sign'd any paper relating to his English affairs since his being here, but in my presence; and I am sure no paper of that kind was ever offer'd to him, while I was by; except it might be some order of course from the secretary at war's office, which was sign'd with the other ordinary papers, without any particular application or distinction. But you may rest fully satisfied, that the king is determined to be on his guard against taking any step, which may carry the least appearance of turning the balance in favour of those who wish us ill; and they that flatter themselves with hopes of that kind, will soon find their error. But I think you have the satisfaction to see, that lord Lechmere and lord Kinnoul with their friends, whatever doubts they may pretend to have, do in reality judge better of the true state of affairs between my brother secretary and me.

The quickest and most effectual way for undeceiving people of all denominations in England, would be by obtaining some overt act in our favor, for which I can't but think a fair opportunity offered by the vacancy which has lately happened in the vice treasurership of Ireland, which I find the king would

* Secretary have consented should have gone to Treby;* I having founded his majesty on at war. that head, upon a supposition it was agreeable to your own thoughts; and by this means a way might have been opened for bringing Mr. Pelham into the war office, which would have been a most sensible and indisputable

† Lord Ca- mortification to your general.† But as I thought it proper to communicate dogan. your letter‡ to our friends here, all thoughts of that kind are now out of the question. However necessary it may be to hang out some banner of this kind in England, yet I can assure you, the distinction here is so visible, and so well understood by the foreign ministers and others, that it must in a very little while make its way into England. I have as strong

‡ Many letters from sir Robert Walpole, alluded to in this correspondence, are unfortunately lost.

ORIGINAL CORRESPONDENCE.

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proofs on this head of all kinds as I can desire; and while matters continue to go well in England, you need be under no uneasiness at the false accounts which some people here may find it necessary to oppose to facts in order to support the spirit of their friends on your side.

Period III.
1720 to 1727.
1723.

I see reason from all quarters to be convinced, that the revival of public credit, and the good conduct of the king's affairs in last session, has acquired us such reputation in all parts, as will turn very much to the service of his majesty's affairs in general, and has made a suitable impression on the king. And I am satisfied that the surest way to continue things here on the present good foot, and to put our credit with the king past all danger of competition or accidents, will be to form a good scheme for the next session, by falling on some new expedient for the ease of the nation, and the benefit of trade and credit, which points, his majesty has so much at heart, that the succeeding in them will infallibly rivet us in his esteem, and give us a greater advantage over our adversaries, than can be hoped for from carrying any particular point against any of them. For this reason, I beg of you to turn your thoughts as early as you can towards bringing the supplies of the next year within two shillings in the pound, and the malt; and I submit it to your consideration, whether the uniting the South Sea and East India companies, and the easing our East India trade in some such manner as I hinted in my last, would not be very popular, and at the same time divert any ill humour which may be stirring in the parliament, if they have not some such useful points to employ themselves upon.

I think the manner in which you received lord Kinnoul's overtures was exactly right, since nothing can be more dangerous than to enter into negotiations with the tories, or even to labor under the suspicion of it at this time. Our friends here are in perfect good health and good humour, and very much your humble servants.

Since writing thus far, we have been alarmed with the news of some secret expedition of the czar's, which storm, it is thought probable, will fall upon Sweden, as you will see by my private letter in Mr. Tilson's hand. I must beg of you to exert yourself, and to send us some comfortable news on this most important occasion, where the safety and interest of his majesty's British and German dominions are evidently connected and inseparable, which topick I hope you will not be afraid to enlarge upon in your answer. You will easily judge of what importance it is, that our apprehensions, and the provision of money necessary to be made in consequence of them (which you may depend

Period III. upon it, will not be touched, without the most pressing exigency) should re-
main an entire secret to every body, except the duke of Newcastle, to whom,

1723. I desire you would communicate my letters, and excuse me to his grace for not troubling him with a repetition of the same matters. I need not tell you how nearly the king has this affair at heart; and what satisfaction your entering heartily into it will give; and tho' it must occasion an additional expence, in case matters should come to bear, yet the engagements of our treaties, and the danger with which England would be threatened, from such an acquisition of the czar's, will certainly fully justify it to the parliament. Pray let the duke of Newcastle know, that I take great comfort in the advances made to him by lord Lechmere; and that I think care should be taken to cultivate the good disposition he appears to be in at present. The marshal writes at large to the duke of Newcastle, by the messenger.

LORD TOWNSHEND TO ROBERT WALPOLE.

Relates his successful contest with baron Sparre, Bernsdorf, and Carteret, about the affairs of Sweden.—Is treated by the king with superior confidence.—Unsuccessful cabals of Carteret with some of the Hanoverians.

Hardwicke
Papers.

Private.

Copy.

I Have received the favour of your private letter of the 19th July, but before I come to answer the particulars contained in it, I must acquaint you with a struggle I have had here with M. Bernstorf and lord Carteret, which has ended as well as could be wished. Some days ago, baron Sparre desired a conference with me on the subject of the czar's intended expedition, and pressed me very much to assist him in obtaining for his master an immediate supply of 10,000*l.* I did not at first shew myself very averse to this proposal, being willing to learn from him, how far his court were alarmed with the czar's propositions, and what steps they intended to take towards opposing them: but upon farther conversation, I plainly discovered, that they were in no great fear in Sweden on this event, persuading themselves, that if the czar should espouse the duke of Holstein's interest with an armed force, or should even pretend to influence the diet by appearing on their coasts, such a violence and indignity would turn to the king of Sweden's advantage; and he made no difficulty to own to me, that the only use intended to be made of the 10,000*l.* was to enable the king of Sweden to carry some points in the diet. You will easily believe, that after such a confession, I could not think it for our master's service, to advise him to an expence, neither justifiable by our treaties, nor of

any

any service towards averting the present danger, and which might have opened the way for repeated applications of the same nature.

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1720 to 1727.

1723.

The next day after Sparre had been with me, I met Bernstorff and lord Carteret in the king's antichamber, and could easily perceive by their discourse, that Sparre's demand had been made in concert with them, since Mr. Bernstorff not only pressed my advising the king to grant that sum, but urged the necessity of sending to England for six or eight men of war to join the Danish fleet. I remonstrated to him, that the sending for so insignificant a squadron, might indeed help to inflame the present discontents in England, and to alarm and affect publick credit, but could not possibly be of the least service for opposing any attempt of the czar, since before any such ships could be fitted out for the Baltic, the stroke (if any were really intended) must be struck, and the advanced season of the year, as it must soon send home the czar's fleet, so it would probably oblige ours to return within a week or fortnight after its arrival; and even supposing our ships at present in the Baltic, yet the Danish fleet (which consists of no more than ten) joined to so inconsiderable a number of ours, would not be in a condition to make head against a force so much superior as the czar's (including his galleys) is represented to be; besides, that it is not yet certain on what side the storm would fall. Notwithstanding my arguments, he still persisted in the same sentiments; and went in to the king, full of the necessity of sending both for ships and money from England. In the mean time, I discoursed with lord Carteret, whom I found agreeing with Bernstorff, or at least for sending to lord Berkley to have the ships in readiness, which proposal appeared to me more absurd than Bernstorff's; since such a preparation would equally have alarmed the nation without any possibility of our reaping the least benefit from it.

As soon as Bernstorff came out, we went in to the king together, where the point was fairly battled, and I had the satisfaction to find the king entirely agree with me in opinion, and for the same reasons, to the no small mortification of my antagonist. His majesty is sensible, that Bernstorff and my colleague had been even assisting and instructing Sparre in the solicitation he should make, and for this reason, he does not doubt, but we shall soon have the same demand renewed from Stockholm, in a more artful and authentic manner, on the foot of the assistance stipulated by our treaty. But besides, that by that time all thoughts of a squadron from England must be over, his majesty is firmly resolved not to assist Sweden with a farthing of money, till the case of the treaty shall actually exist, and some method shall be proposed, that may be judged effectual for averting the common danger. And tho' his ma-

^{*} Period III. ~~1720 to 1727~~. his Majesty desires above all things, that such a sum of money as I mentioned in my last, may be got ready against any sudden emergency (which will be so effectual a service, that I cannot sufficiently recommend it to your care) yet he has given me orders to assure you in the most express terms, that not a farthing of it shall be touched, except in the case of such evident and extensive danger as shall fully justify such an expence to a British parliament; and I have the strongest assurances from the manner in which Bernstorff was treated, and what the king said to me of him on this occasion, that neither he nor any of the ministers here will be able to prevail with his majesty to depart from these resolutions.

You will see by the copy of Mr. Finch's letter enclosed in my publick dispatch, that the alarm is not hitherto very great in Sweden, which his majesty is much pleased with, as favouring his intentions of refusing both the ships and money, and he has ordered me to take occasion from that letter to treat this expedition of the czar as of no great consequence; promising to do the same on his part. Tho' lord Carteret came to me late last night to let me know that Bernstorff had news of the czar's being seen at sea, holding his course towards Sweden, with Holstein and Swedish colours; yet if some advices, which I have seen this day from Petersburgh are true, he has not embarked any of the forces intended, and the whole expedition is like to end in exercising his sailors.

I have the satisfaction to assure you, that as I never saw the king in righter dispositions, even in relation to those interests towards which he may naturally be supposed somewhat partial, so I never at any time since I had the honour to serve him, was used with half the confidence, and visible marks of distinction, that I have met with since my being here, which as it cannot fail by degrees to undeceive people in England, so I hope it will make you and the rest of our friends less solicitous in pushing particular points against your adversaries.

I am sorry to find lord Bolingbroke's affair continues to make ill blood among our friends. I think you were entirely right in keeping clear of any further engagements with him; and since it will be absolutely necessary for us to rest on the whig bottom, I think this should make us double our diligence to keep well with the bishops, which I hope you will attempt by all opportunities that offer. I hear nothing of Bolingbroke's coming hither as yet, and wish for many reasons his visit may be prevented.

The king continues his resolution of signing no paper relating to his British affairs, but in my presence.

My

ORIGINAL CORRESPONDENCE.

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My brother Carteret set out with making his court to Bernstorff, countess Platen, and madame de Wendt, an old friend of lord Sunderland, who is supposed to govern the countess, and I suppose he hoped to make use of Schrader, Pleffen, and such little emissaries and intelligencers, brought up to lying and intrigue. I make it my chief busines to pay my court to our master; and to preserve the confidence of our old friends, taking care at the same time to shew all the civilities I safely can, to the others. I see no reason hitherto to repent of the interest I have made choice of, tho' my brother secretary, I believe, does, if I may judge by the countenance of his friends, and by his behaviour to me, which grows more supple than it was at first. As for Bernstorff, his own creatures acknowledge that he has less credit with the king than ever. If there be a place in the world where faction and intrigue are natural and in fashion, it is here, which makes it no easy task for a stranger to behave himself inoffensively: however, I am very sure, I have lost no friend, and I think I have made no enemy; tho' it is not a very agreeable situation to be eternally upon one's guard from all quarters. I must again repeat to you, that all here goes on as well as could be wished; but I earnestly recommend to you, that my private letters, and particularly what I wrote in my last, may be imparted to no one living, but the duke of Newcastle. Things are often reported back hither unaccountably; and the freedom we use in writing to one another, might be of the last ill consequence, if it were even suspected.

Period III.
1720 to 1727.

1723.

LORD TOWNSHEND TO ROBERT WALPOLE.

King warmly commends Walpole, and is inclined to follow his advice.

DEAR SIR,

Hanover, August 11, 1723.

YOUR letter of the 23d of July, relating to the grand affair, was entirely to our master's satisfaction. I asked him yesterday, upon shewing him my answer to it, whether I had not made you too many compliments; he said, that was impossible; you never had your equal in busines, with many more warm expressions of the same kind. You will see by my letter, in Mr. Tilson's hand, that our accounts of the czar's expedition vary, and there is good reason to hope his forces are not embarked, tho' Bernstorff labours to have the contrary believed, and to keep up the alarm, in which he is seconded by my colleague. But I have the satisfaction to find the king perfectly steady to the sentiments I mentioned in my last, so that you may depend upon it, without the most evident and immediate necessity, not a penny will be touched; but

Hardwicke
Papers.

Private.

Copy.

we

MEMOIRS OF SIR ROBERT WALPOLE.

Period III. we shall save both our money and credit. I agree with you entirely in your
1720 to 1727. reasonings on this affair: and you may be assured, I shall not advise the king
1723. to take the lead, much less to enter the lists alone against the czar and his
 Swedish pretender, except some unforeseen accident should make it absolutely
 necessary for the common safety.

ROBERT WALPOLE TO LORD TOWNSHEND.

Rise of the stocks.—Flourishing state of public credit.

**Hardwicke
Papers.
Copy.** (August 30, 1723.) YOU cannot but observe the late rise of our stocks. South Sea was actually sold on Monday at 110. But the bulls and bears have funk it again to betwixt seven and eight. I had the good fortune to tell his majesty before he went, that I thought it would come to this price before Michaelmas. This rise was nothing imaginary, not at all the effect of art. The public credit is now in so flourishing a condition, that upon some difficulties the duchess of Marlborough had a mind to make in that loan, I could have had 200,000*l.* in land tallies, with the interest upon them, which was about 12*s.* 6*d.*; in all 3*l.* 12*s.* 6*d.*; and I think it is plain we shall have the whole supply of next year at 3 per cent. even without the Marlborough money; and I flatter myself, that the next session of parliament will bring no discredit to those that have the honour to serve the king in his revenue.

ROBERT WALPOLE TO SIR LUKE SCHAUB.

Condolers with him on the death of cardinal du Bois.

Whitehall, August 5, 1723.

**Hardwicke
Papers.** I Received yesterday the melancholy account of the death of the cardinal; and as the loss of a minister of his great abilities and good disposition cannot but sensibly affect every body that wished well to the common cause; I can assure you, I bear my just share of this publick misfortune. As to you in particular, the loss of so good and powerful a friend, must be an affliction almost inconsolable. I condole with you upon your own account. 'Tis impossible to doubt, but your endeavours for the service of his majesty will, upon this occasion, not only be continued, but as it may be more necessary, doubly exerted, till matters are entirely settled, under this great and important change; and we must all promise ourselves great success from your application and great experience. You have upon all accounts my good wishes, and may command

command my best services. I thought it not improper, on this occasion, to give the duke of Orleans the trouble of a letter. I have likewise wrote to the count de Morville; and desire you will with my best compliments, deliver the letters to them.

Period III.
1720 to 1727.
1723.

ROBERT WALPOLE TO LORD TOWNSHEND.

Will provide the 200,000l. but trusts there will be no occasion to employ it.—Enforces the necessity of not being precipitate, and strongly recommends cautious measures.—Lord Bolingbroke betrays to him lord Carteret's intrigues with the tories, and proposes a coalition of the tories with Townshend and Walpole, who warmly objects to the measure.

Whitehall, July 23—August 3, 1723.

I Hope the answer I have sent you, concerning this great affair, will be to the king's and your lordship's satisfaction. The 150,000l. may certainly be had; but it is out of that provision, I made upon a supposition, that the king might possibly stay later than Christmas; so that both services cannot possibly be answered; which I presume you will make his majesty sensible of. At the same time, I cannot but wish from my heart, that this money may not be demanded; and if it can be avoided, I hope your lordship will let it take that turn, nor do I see how it can be employed at all by way of prevention; for if the czar's fleet was ready to sail, my agreement for this subsidy will come too late, and the blow be struck before a force can be got ready to repel it. For my part, I enter much into that part of your lordship's reasoning, to be as well as we can with the new king, or at least to shew a disposition to be so. If we enter precipitately into any engagement upon this occasion, we shall not carry the nation, nor perhaps the parliament along with us; but if we wait, and are driven into it, it will be seen and be thought to be the interest of Great Britain alone, that made us engage; and I do not know, whether this attempt of the czar, coming upon us so much by surprise, may not be more fortunate, than a more early intelligence. In a word, my politics are to keep free from all engagements, as long as we possibly can. You'll forgive my sudden, and possibly very improper thoughts upon a subject, that I am but little acquainted with; but I am mightily inclined to be cautious.

You may be sure, I shall not neglect turning my thoughts towards the business of next sessions, but if any such things as we are now talking of should happen, there is an end of all that at once.

Hardwicke
Papers.
Private
Copy.

I sub-

Period III. I submit it further to your lordship's consideration, whether it is not worth thinking of; what will be our condition, if we are the only power in all Europe that enters immediately into this quarrel? If the Swedish nation are ready for a revolution, as the ill humours now prevailing seem to portend, it will be impossible to prevent it; and we shall have made the new king our enemy, who might possibly pretend otherwise to take the part, that the Jacobites have a long time flattered themselves he will, it will all be imputed to this provocation of ours. France has, I apprehend, been a long time in negociation with the czar: can France be ignorant of this measure; or what part will France act upon this occasion? In short, I wish to God, we may at least for a little time remain neuters, and look on, if all the rest of Europe does the same thing. But all this I submit to your better judgement.

Lord Bolingbroke was with me last week, and shewed me the two letters he received from your lordship and lord Carteret: the letters were as unlike to one another, as the authors, and I assure you your brother secretary said not one word of future services, but gave him a bare dry compliment. This is agreeable to the part they all act here to keep themselves entirely clear of all engagements. I spoke very plainly to lord B. in the same manner, I had talked before, and gave him no hopes, that we would hazard the king's affairs by rashly undertaking any thing in parliament. But what I had chiefly to acquaint you with, was what lord B. said upon another subject. He introduced the conversation, with excusing himself for entering into any negociation, which he would, or would not proceed upon, as I should approve. He told me, he had held several conversations with sir William Windham and lord Bathurst, who spoke to him in their own names, and in the name of lord Gower: they declared themselves weary of the situation they were in, and ready to enter into any measures with your lordship, and your humble servant. They said they were in measures with lord Carteret all last winter, and corresponded frequently with him by messages, that the concert was with those three, and lord Anglesea, and lord Carteret; that Carteret had frequently pressed them to attack me personally, and that Anglesea was always on that side of the question; that this correspondence was founded upon repeated assurances of an undoubted superior interest, sufficient to support them, and continued till his lordship's departure; that they now thought themselves deceived by him, and were desirous to rid themselves of the disagreeable situation they were in, by renouncing Jacobitism, &c. I answered it was both impossible and unadvisable for me to enter into any such negociation, and told lord Bolingbroke, I thought

he

he was doing a most imprudent thing, who was to expect his salvation from a whig parliament, to be negotiating to bring in a lett of tories; that if this should be known, his case would be desperate in parliament; and desired and advised him to give this answer to his friends, as from his own farther recollection: and that he thought it not proper upon consideration to mention it to me, which he seemed to acquiesce in, and to be satisfied. I need not observe to you: here is a direct confession of Carteret's dealing with the tories throughout all last session, which they are very explicit in.

Period III.
1720 to 1727.
1723.

ROBERT WALPOLE TO LORD TOWNSHEND.

Mentions rumours of divisions among the king's ministers at Hanover.—From whence they originate.—Consequences of these rumours if not checked.—Extreme tranquillity in England.

MY LORD,

Whitehall, August 30, 1723.

Townshend
Papers..

I Avoid as much as I can, troubling your lordship with all the idle stories and reports that are spread about here, tho' they come all from your side, least when they return upon the rebound, they may be either magnified or represented in such colours, and made use of to such purposes as the authors of them first design'd they should. I think it proper just to mention them to you, with a general remark or two, which I think indeed applicable to them all. They are sent over either with a view to keep up divisions here among the king's friends and servants, and to countenance people in forming intrigues and opposition, as if a sufficient interest was form'd at Hanover to support them; or if they are of another sort, they are to be the matter of complaint, and the reports which arise and are invented by themselves, are made use of as arguments of designs carrying on against them. Of these sorts, are the several reports that have fill'd the town, of the great differences betwixt the two secretaries at Hanover, of lord Carteret's being soon expected back in England, represented by some as a design to form a new ministry in conjunction with himself, by others as returning in disgrace.

Another report that has obtained very much is, that lord Carterett had endeavour'd or procured the bringing over the countesse of Platen into England. 'Tis great pity, my lord, that some check cannot be given to these proceedings, which altho' they may seem trivial have their ill effects: all that I can say is, when I am sure, I know from what quarter they do not come, it seems not hard to guesse from whence they have source. And I find these

MEMOIRS OF SIR ROBERT WALPOLE.

Period III. reports are not confin'd to England; but my son, who return'd hither last
1720 to 1727 night from Paris, tells me there they talk of nothing more, and talk as they
1723. are variously affected; but the story of the lady's journey is received there
as a settled point. These stories, and the different reasonings upon them,
and the True Briton, are the only things that cause the least disturbance here;
we are otherwise in a state of tranquillity and satisfaction beyond what I have
ever known; but you may depend upon it, the prospect of changes will all-
ways animate the discontented and disaffected.

LORD TOWNSHEND TO ROBERT WALPOLE.

*Anxious to facilitate the acceptance of the overtures from the king of Prussia.—
Ill effects of the projects for establishing an East India company at Ostend.—
Unexpected arrival of Bothmar.*

Manover, Wednesday, Sept. 8, 1723.

**Hardwicke
Papers.
Copy.** YOU will see by the office letter, that I have got the king's leave to send
over for a full power for myself, in which I have likewise got lord Car-
teret inserted, with a design of making use of it at the court of Berlin, if there
should be occasion. The king of Prussia has made all imaginable court to
the king our master, and has used all possible endeavours to get him over to
Berlin. His majesty has certainly very little inclination for this journey; and
has not hitherto declared his resolution upon it, but I live in hopes that he
will conquer his aversion, and not refuse so trifling a compliance, which may
open the way to a better understanding between the two crowns. A neigh-
bouring prince, so nearly related, so well affected to the protestant cause, who
has a standing force of 80,000 men: and such an extent of dominions as the
king of Prussia, is certainly worth gaining even upon much harder terms; and
I am satisfied nothing would contribute more to bring the czar to reason, and
to facilitate our treaty with him, than the renewing our ancient alliances with
Prussia, which I shall therefore labour all I can.

I have had a letter from governor Harrison, in which he tells me, that the
spirit of the East India company is so broken by the Ostend project, that they
neither think of putting up any tea at the next sale, nor of making any ex-
ports the next season. How far this will affect our customs, and damp credit,
you cannot but be sensible; and I should be glad you would take an oppor-
tunity to discourse with him, and try to put a little new life into the company.
This makes it still more necessary for me to renew my request to you of get-
ting

ting a scheme for the ensuing sessions, so far digested, that I may be able to communicate the heads of it to the king, about the time that it will be necessary for him to think of returning; and I must again repeat to you, that nothing will gain his heart more than the striking out some good plan for the benefit of trade and credit. Mr. Peters begins now to hope that the States will come to more vigorous resolutions than they have hitherto taken in relation to the Ostend trade, which I shall be very glad to find confirmed.

Period III.
1720 to 1727.
1723.

Count Lippe's story of the countess of Platen, is certainly a lye. I am informed from very good hands, that she has not the least thought of going for England. Neither do I find any thing that looks like it in her conversations; tho' I have often the honour of her company, and am well with some other ladies that are in her good graces, as you may perhaps soon find to your cost. I shall take care to bring you off as cheap as I can; but I must desire you to do honour to my demands, which will not bee very extravagant.

It was a great surprize to me, to find count Bothmar just upon his arrival here, without any previous intiligence from you of the motives of his journey. The purchase of an estate in Meklenbourg, is the pretence given out, but I believe he is not very formidable, let his views be what they will. Some days ago, my old tormenter, monsieur Petkum, had the impertinence to make his personal appearance heare, it cost me a hundred pounds to fend him packing the next day, for which I must take the liberty to draw on Mr. Lowther, by the next messenger.

My colleague* is gone out a shooting for some days; he seems to be pretty much at the stand, what course to steer next, having no great reason hitherto to be satisfied with his negotiations. Our friends here, send their services to you and the duke of Newcastle, to whom I desire my best respects.

* Lord Carteret.

LORD TOWNSHEND TO ROBERT WALPOLE.

Motives for proposing to send Horace Walpole to Paris.—Secret objects of his mission.—His instructions.

Hanover, Sept. 21, 1723.

THE occasion of my dispatching this messenger to you, is an affair of great importance, which must be managed with the utmost secrecy, being known¹ at present to no one but his majesty and myself. His majesty has received some advices from Paris, that the duke of Orleans since the death of cardinal du Bois, has recalled to court count Nocé, with whom the duke had always

Hardwicke
Papers.

Copy.

Period III. lived in the greatest intimacy, but whom the cardinal forced him to part with; 1720 to 1727. that Nocé, since his return, has resumed the great share he formerly had in the duke's confidence, and is (as Homer, sir Luke Schaub's secretary, writes to Mr. Balaquier) particularly trusted and employed in the affairs relating to England; that Nocé has conceived an irreconcileable aversion against Schaub, as supposing him to have been instrumental with the cardinal in procuring his disgrace. You must be sensible that nothing can be of greater importance to the king, than to be rightly informed of the truth of the foregoing facts, since the maintaining the good understanding with France, which was so happily established by the cardinal's good offices, may in a great measure depend upon it; for the duke of Orleans, however well disposed and capable of judging for himself, is by a peculiar easiness of temper, the most liable of any man living to put himself under the direction of those who have his confidence, and thereby susceptible of any impressions they think fit to give him. This good understanding therefore cannot long be preserved, if one so near him as the count de Nocé is represented to be, should not only withdraw his confidence from the king's ministers at that court, but perhaps out of personal pique and resentment to that minister, should carry his aversion still farther to the affairs he is charged with from his majesty.

But as on one hand, it is of great importance to the king to be apprised, as soon as possible, of the real situation of affairs in France, so on the other hand, it will require great caution and address to come at the truth in such a manner, as may neither hurt sir Luke Schaub's credit with the duke of Orleans, nor create a jealousy in sir Luke, of the king's intending to withdraw his confidence from him. Upon these considerations, his majesty has thought it not adviseable to send any one directly to France from this place, which could not have been done without noise, and giving umbrage of one kind or other, but has rather chose to have somebody on whose fidelity and dexterity he can depend, set out from England, and take Paris in his way hither, under pretence of a curiosity to see that place, and without owing to any one living, the business he is employed in. And his majesty, having been pleased to turn his thoughts on my brother Horace Walpole for that service, as one who has acquitted himself well in former negotiations, and is acquainted with the general state of foreign affairs, and who having been expected here by every body all this summer, his leaving England at this time will occasion no new speculation; I am therefore to desire you to prevail with him to undertake the journey immediately; and it is his majesty's pleasure, that he should observe the following

following instructions. He is in the first place, to take care to avoid giving the least suspicion of his being sent by the king to Paris, and his coming thither, must appear to be nothing but the effects of his own curiosity to see the place. He is to use as much freedom and openness towards sir Luke Schaub, as is consistent with concealing the real intent of his journey, and is to learn from him, as much as he easily can, of the present situation of affairs in France, without betraying the least jealousy of any decay of sir Luke's credit, or pressing to know more than he is ready to impart to him. He is to wait on the duke of Orleans, or not, as it is thrown in his way, and is to see as many of the French ministers as he can, without creating suspicion, particularly M. de Morville and the count de Nocé; and in his general conversations, is to enlarge (as from himself and from his own knowledge only) on the firm desire which the king and those who have the honour to be employed by him, have to preserve a perfect good understanding with France, and to repair the loss which both nations have sustained in the death of the cardinal, by keeping up the same strict friendship with those who succeed him in the care of publick affairs. But the main drift of all his conversations must be to learn (without appearing to affect it) in what degree of confidence M. de Morville and the count de Nocé stand with the regent, and how each of them is affected towards the king our master, and towards keeping a good understanding with England, as also personally towards sir Luke Schaub and one another. For avoiding all suspicion Mr. Walpole must forbear writing to me by the post; but as soon as he has informed himself as thoroughly as he can, of the abovementioned particulars, and of the state of the French affairs in general, he must dispatch to me privately some trusty servant, whom he must take along with him for that purpose, with a full relation of what is come to his knowledge, and under pretence of visiting some of the neighbouring palaces, &c. &c. must take occasion to stay in France, till he receives his majesty's farther orders.

LORD TOWNSHEND TO ROBERT WALPOLE.

Obtains the mission of Horace Walpole to Paris, without the knowledge of lord Carteret.—Good effects to be derived from that event.

DEAR SIR,

Hanover, Sept. 25, 1723.

YOU will see by the enclosed, which the king has seen and approved of, that I have had the good fortune to bring about in a quiet way, and without our colleague's being consulted, what we of all things had the most reason to wish

Hardwicke
Papers.Copy.

Period III. wish for, which is the prevailing with the king to take such a step, as cannot fail to set our interest in a clearer light, and to put us on a better foot with the court of France. For tho' my brother Horace Walpole's instructions, are not to own to any one living, his being employed by the king (which he must be sure strictly to comply with, that we may be irreproachable on that head) yet all the world will easily comprehend, that he does not take Paris in his way to Hanover, merely out of curiosity, or without the king's approbation. And if he executes his commission with his usual dexterity, the effect will either be, that he will make such discoveries, as must end in getting Schaub recalled; or at least that Schaub, finding we have credit enough to get so near a relation sent over to superintend him, will so far consider his own situation, as to act in a more open and sincere manner towards us, and think it necessary to make a merit to himself of appearing to throw that interest into our hands, which after such a tacit declaration in our favour, it may no longer be in his power to withhold from us. And as that interest has hitherto been the chief, and is at present in a manner the only hold and support of our antagonists, this affair, if managed with discretion, will wound them in the most vital and sensible part; and being therefore of such great consequence to us, I hope you will prevail with my brother Horace, to undertake the journey without any difficulty or delay.

I would advise him not to mention any thing to sir Luke Schaub, or the French ministers, of the match that is in agitation for the countess of Platen's daughter with M. de la Vrilliere, except they take notice of it to him first; in which case he is to express himself strongly for it; that we may steer clear of the imputation of designing to obstruct it; it being what our friends here are all well inclined to. I desire that your answer, to be enclosed, may be separate, and such as it may be proper to shew to the king.

LORD TOWNSHEND TO ROBERT WALPOLE.

Intrigues to obtain the appointment of marshal Hartenberg to be first minister.—Townshend carries his point.—Gains the confidence of the duchess of Kendal.—Procures the place of commissary for Walpole's friend, in opposition to the earnest recommendation of lords Cadogan and Carteret.—Lord Middleton's letter to his son on Wood's patent.

Hanover, Oct. 2, 1723.

Period III.

1720 to 1727.

1723.

Hardwicke
Papers.Very private.

Copy.

I Am now able to send you an account of the whole progress and happy termination of an affair, which has given me the only solid uneasiness I have felt since my being here, and which looked so unpromising in some of its aspects, that I did not care to alarm you with any part of it, till all was over, and it had taken its turn one way or other.

While we were extremely intent on guarding against the attacks of our enemies, and had all the success that way which could be desired; it happened, that the indiscretion of some of our friends, had like to have ended in worse consequences than the utmost efforts of the former could have brought about. The mareschal, ever since his being here, has been labouring in the most eager and impatient manner to get himself declared minister: and not being able to carry his point with that ease and expedition he wished for, he threatened, and certainly had thoughts of quitting the king's service altogether, and carried his indiscretion so far as to grow very negligent in his attendance, and even to withdraw himself from court for some weeks, under frivolous pretences. But this was not all; for tho' the duchess acted a very sincere part towards him in this affair, and strained her interest, perhaps farther than was adviseable, to gratify his eagerness and ambition; yet the mareschal, partly thro' impatience, and partly thro' a falsehood and indifference, too habitual to him (of which I shall be able to give you stronger proofs than I wish for, when we meet) could not forbear making his court privately to persons of the opposite faction, and looking out for assistance in that quarter, from whence accounts of all his practises were constantly brought round to the duchess.

This infidelity, in one whom the duchess honoured with her chief confidence, has, you may be sure, given her great uneasiness. However, it has had the immediate good effect, of making her more open and unreserved towards me, and I believe, I may venture to say, she reposest a more entire confidence in me at present, than in any other person about the king. I was very true to the mareschal in his grand affair, and notwithstanding the discoveries that have been made, advised the duchess to press his being declared minister, in which situation it is very possible, he may signify less than he did before. At least he will serve to exclude some more dangerous person from being brought over to England, and will save us from the difficulties and uncertainties that always attend a change of hands. I neither did, nor could (after seeing things that are come to my knowledge) endeavour to re-establish the mareschal's character of integrity with the duchess, and as I believe it morally

Period III. rally impossible, that he should ever regain her confidence entirely, the bringing him back to England must, I think, of course have the effect of throwing her into our hands, where I am sure neither the king nor she have, or shall discover any falsehood. The event has been, that the king has promised the mareschal to take him into the ministry; and I believe it will be done before the journey to Berlin, which was declared yesterday, tho' the time of his majesty's setting out, is not yet fixed. He is still to keep his mareschall's place, and his going back to England, is made an express condition of his nomination. This has set all right again, and the mareschal and I are as dear friends as ever, setting aside a little shyness and awkwardness on his part, which I verily believe is owing to the consciousness of his own wrong behaviour and insincerity, since I am very sure he can have nothing to object to me in this whole affair.

At the same time, the mareschal was playing these tricks, M. Hattorf had taken a positive resolution not to return any more to England. Tho' his motives were certainly only the want of health, and the inconveniences arising from his own private affairs, (his sincerity and integrity being above all suspicion), yet this added very much to my uneasiness, as it opened a way for taking some other German over. But upon the duchess and my assurances of such returns of friendship from you and me, as his most irreproachable conduct towards the king, and kind inclination towards us, very well deserve, he has altered his mind, and will certainly go over; so that upon the whole, I hope every thing will stand on the same good foot as formerly, with this only difference and advantage, that the mareschal by his great dexterity will have transferred the ascendant with the duchess from himself to us, and may for the future stand more in need of our assistance than we of his.

Lord Carteret told me a few nights ago, that he had seen a letter from the chancellor of Ireland to his son* (who I suppose is sent hither chiefly for the sake of carrying on a private correspondence with lord Carteret) taking notice that the coinage of farthings and halfpence for Ireland gave great offence in that kingdom; and would probably be inquired into by their parliament. I told his lordship, that I understood this affair of the coinage to have been set on foot in lord Sunderland's time, and to have been only perfected now: that it was thought not only agreeable, but necessary to that kingdom; and that even if it were otherwise, it ill becomes his majesty's chancellor to be forward in

* Alan Brodrick. This letter is printed among the letters on Wood's patent.

Looking out for grievances to clog his majesty's service. He told me that a coinage had been desired by our plantations in America in lord Sunderland's time, but that he never heard of Ireland's having desired it; but he said he would write lord Middleton word, that as the coinage was an inherent prerogative of the crown, he did not see what either house of parliament could have to object to it. I give you this hint, that you may consider what objections that affair is liable to, and may give the duke of Grafton notice that this is likely to be one of the rubs that will be thrown in his way.

The king will go directly from Berlin to the Goehrde, and our scheme will be to prevail with him to set out for England about the 20th of November, N. S. but this will depend so much on the weather, and the diversion he meets with in hunting, that no conjecture can be made, what success our solicitations are likely to meet with. If the affair of the supplies should make it absolutely necessary for his majesty to meet the parliament before Christmas, I desire you would let me know it, as soon as you can, and that you would in that case, about the latter end of this month, O. S. send me over such a letter as may be proper to be shewn to his majesty, setting forth the necessity of his return in strong, tho' respectful terms.

I received yesterday morning your letter of the 13th September, with an account of the vacancy likely to happen by sir William Strickland's death, and at noon lord Carteret and I had a fair battle before the king, he for Burroughs and I for Wescomb. His lordship begun by saying, that lord Cadogan had recommended Burroughs, and had formerly obtained a promise in his favor, that it was true Mr. Walpole, as he had heard, had proposed Wescomb, but that he was so much a creature of the duke of Argyle's, that his lordship supposed his majesty would not think it proper to trust a post of such consequence in relation to military affairs in Wescomb's hands. I told the king, that I apprehended the dispute not to be whether Burroughs or Wescomb should have this place (which was a matter in itself perfectly indifferent to you and me) but whether lord Cadogan had shewn himself so very abstemious in point of profit, that his majesty could think it for his service to have not only the army, but all posts relating to it, and even such as were intended for a check and controul on the indirect practices of officers, entirely subjected to lord Cadogan and his friends. That, as for Wescomb, all that I knew of him was, that lord Carteret himself had formerly brought him to me, and recommended him as a very honest man, and that he had the good fortune to do his majesty some service by his discoveries in Spain last year. That as for his being a

MEMOIRS OF SIR ROBERT WALPOLE.

Period III. creature of the duke of Argyle's, I thought it so far from an objection in the
 1720 to 1727. present case, that this circumstance might possibly make him a stricter check
1723. without at all interfering with lord Cadogan's command, which as his majesty knew, I had never endeavored to lessen or break in upon. The king's answer was, "*Vous avez raison je veux que Wescomb ait la charge;*" and then he rebuked lord Carteret for insinuating, that this would interfere with the command, since a commissary's only business was to see that his majesty and the public were not cheated. Perhaps you may have some curiosity to know what my good colleague's behavior was upon this victory. We came home very lovingly together, and he was lavish on his old topick, how well he intended to live with you and me. I beg that these particulars may not be mentioned to any body but the duke of Newcastle; since nothing would give his majesty greater offence, than our making any such affair a matter of triumph, and the less we boast, the more we shall certainly have to boast of.

ROBERT WALPOLE TO LORD TOWNSHEND.

Horace Walpole gone to Paris with proper instructions.—Opinion of Law concerning count Nocé.—Lord Peterborough informs him of the situation and sentiments of the duke of Orleans.—The removal of sir Luke Schaub necessary.—Rumour that lord Carteret is going ambassador to France.—Accuses lord Midleton and the Brodericks of fomenting the discontents in Ireland, on account of Wood's patent.—Defends the coinage.

MY LORD,

Whitehall, Oct. 1—12, 1723.

Townshend Papers. MY brother Horace is gone this morning for France, and his instructions, and the part he is to act, are as well considered and settled betwixt us, as we are capable of doing. I have seen Mr. Law severall times since I had your directions how to behave to him, and have shewn all reasonable civilities, and am sure I have so ordered my brother's journey to Paris with him, that he thinks Horace goes by his advice, and has not the least suspicion of any such thing being ordered from Hanover; he was very pressing with me, that Horace should go that way, thought it would be of great use and satisfaction to the duke of Orleans, to talk with one so related. I tried in general conversation, to learn his opinion of count de Nocé. He thinks him capricious, and not to be depended upon, and tho' in other things, and in private life, he may have a great share of the duke of Orleans's favour and intimacy, he does not seem to apprehend that he will have much to do in busines.

I have

I have likewise heard my lord Peterborough's account at full length of his last travels; he boasts much of the good offices he did us with the duke of Orleans, thinks what he says has great weight, and gives the same character of count de Nocé, as Mr. Law does. These were the only two persons, that I could apprehend, might be writing into France upon Horace's going that way; and as I was obliged, upon other occasions, to see and discourse them, I thought it was proper to learn what I could of them, and give them a right way of thinking upon this occasion. Lord Peterborough brought me personal compliments from the duke of Orleans, by his order, which I know to be true, because both sir Luke and Mr. Crawford wrote me word it was so: but as you know his conversations are infinitely too long to bring within the compasse of a letter, 'tis needless to think of giving you an account of them; but what concerns ourselves, immediately, and personally, I think you should know. He says, great pains have been, and are taken, to this day, to persuade the duke of Orleans, that a good understanding betwixt him and us, is impracticable; that we must be look'd upon as occasional, and temporary friends to France; that we have not the affection of the king our master, but are employ'd out of necessity only; that we are now lost too with the prince; and from these premises, I think the inference is plain. He says, the duke of Orleans found among the late cardinal's papers, severall papers and correspondencies with the cardinal, sir Luke Schaub, and lord Carterett, upon these subjects, that have given the duke a great aversion and contempt for sir Luke; and all these things, he relates from the duke's own mouth; and you may be sure, concludes with his answering and removing all these prejudices. But if he is a judge, or we are at all to believe what he says, the removing sir Luke Schaub would be an acceptable service to the duke of Orleans. I had almost forgott to tell you, that Bolingbroke is named in the correspondencies, found among the cardinal's papers; and he makes the design of his (B's) wife coming over last year, a deep plot.

I suppose you will have heard by this time, of the report of lord Carterett's going embassador to France; this I take to be another of their own stories, raised by themselves to be complained of. But perhaps it may surprise you to hear, that in the last letters from Paris, it is said, a certain house is hired for lord Carterett; and this fame account, in three letters that I knew of, one from lord to lady Lansdown, one from Henry Berkley to Mr. Pulteney, and one from a banker at Paris to Mr. Drummond.

Period III. Sir William Strickland being again upon the mending hand, I hear Cadogan
^{1720 to 1727.} will try another pull for his friend Burroughs, their superiority is now talk'd

^{1723.} up again as high as ever. I only tell you these things, just as they happen, but must from hence take occasion to observe to you, from that part of your last letter, where you tell me, the duchesse hopes I will take care to set matters right in England; that it will be impossible for me or any body else to do it, as long as things rest upon the foot they now are: they are form'd, cabal, and every where by their creatures declare openly against us. We keep the contrary appearances; whatever events would contribute to give us credit, in the eye of the world, we are silent upon, and must not triumph; they not only boast of the little advantages they do gain, but assume to themselves the credit of those very things that are over-ruled against them, that they are said to do every thing, and we do nothing. But indeed, my lord, if this contest is suffer'd to subsist, and the king will not be persuaded to make it very plain on one side or other, you'll see they'll begin the next session as they ended the last; and I am sure 'tis impossible to have lord chancellour, or lord Berkley, but by shewing them that we have the power. The first is out of town again; the latter, with whom I din'd last week, I thought again not altogether so warm and cordial as before, and these changes happen just as they are inform'd, and think the wind blows.

I suppose you make no doubt at all from what corner the attack in the Irish parliament, upon the copper coinage arises; lord Middleton indeed declaring against it, but his son taking the lead with severall warm, virulent, and scurilous invectives; with his son, join'd his secretary, his purse bearer, and three or four immediate dependants, who appear'd openly with violence. You observ'd, that previous notice was sent of this to Hanover; and surely in a proper time and manner the king may be convinced, with whom the Brodericks are link'd, and by whom influenced, which was too notorious last winter, to be at all doubted. Lord Carterett, in this attack, has different views; he flings dirt upon me, who pass'd the patent, and makes

* Probably the duchess of Kendal. somebody * uneasy, for whose sake it was done; and this is one of the instances, wherein these that think themselves in danger, begin to be upon the offensive.

And as I think a good use may be made of this, if it is rightly turn'd, so it may not be improper to apprise your lordship a little of the matter. I was apprehensive, and had notice of this design before the parliament mett, and wrote accordingly twice to Ireland upon the subject; but it appears to me, that the thing took an unpopular turn, and those who should have stem'd the torrent,

rather

rather fell in with the popular cry, than sat about opposing it: the Brodericks brought it on with great precipitation, and without considering, or indeed understanding the case; the parliament has come to the resolutions, of which I send you a copy inclosed. And now I have seen the resolutions, and the severall objections that were made against the patent, which are likewise sent me over, I am astonished that an assembly should come into such resolutions, that are all false in fact: and indeed I was a good deal concerned till I saw what they did object, least by inadvertency or by being impos'd upon, we might out of a desire of doing the service have lett this slip through our fingers, liable to more objections, than I was aware of. But most certainly 'tis not so; and unless they do insist in Ireland, that the king shall pass no such patent for coining money in England, which is the only sense of the last resolution, there is nothing in all they say; and surely this will never be admitted or suffered to be a doctrine here, because it is a prerogative never disputed, and often exercised. 'Tis fitt you should know, that what is voted of the patentee's not complying with his contract, is all false; there is not the least foundation for saying, there were different impressions, and of different weights. The patentee, nor any body for him was never heard. And that resolution, that makes the losse 150 per cent. is founded upon a computation, that copper uncoined is worth but 12d. per lib. but a pound of copper halspence and farthings are by the patent to passe for 2s. 6d. ergo the losse is 1s. 6d. But a pound of copper prepar'd for the mint at London, costs there 1s. 6d. the charge of coining a pound of copper, is at the mint 4d. and I think the duty of a pound of copper coin'd, imported into Ireland is $\frac{1}{2}d.$ per lb. besides the exchange, &c. which with all allowances, comes to 2od. per cent. and all this laid is aside, and the copper money valued at the supposed value of the ruff Irish copper, which is much inferiour to English copper.

I have enter'd thus far into this affair to give you some satisfaction, that you may see, when the matter is considered, it may be supported; which truly is the case, by all that I can learn on both fides of the question; that there is a profit in all these things, there is no doubt, that these grants are allways suppos'd beneficial, and in this case, the money is better than ever was in Ireland. There was a misfortune in the conducting this matter in Ireland, which I'll take another opportunity to explain to you; but among friends, you know the Irish secretary of state is all Balm of Gilead. But you'll be very much mistaken, if you think the spirit that was shewn in Ireland upon this occasion,

Period III.
1720 to 1727.
1723.

~~Period III.~~ sion, was not wholly owing to the full persuasion of the superiority that is thought to be against us. Mr. Broderick did every thing but name me in his speeches; and in his reflections upon the ministers, did to the sense and apprehension of every hearer, distinguish betwixt ministers, that I make not the least doubt, but the whole was concerted. Since I wrote what is above, I have received two letters together from lord chancellor Middleton, full of his falsehood and little cunning, and the latter is to explain off the former; I shall be very short in my answer.

I received an account last night, that Jack Smith* was certainly dead, which, tho' 'tis not yet known in town, is certainly true. This may give an opportunity of disposing of Treby,† and putting in Mr. Pellham, which I suppose will be done by the rule of keeping things open till the king's return. I beg you will gett immediately a promise from the king not to dispose of it, nor to be ingaged to any body else; for I think by the things that are now vacant, we may settle our affairs in parliament to our content. I cannot enough admire your conduct in the marechal's affair, it was as nice and difficult a task, as was ever upon the tapis, and it was impossible for mortal man to manage it better.

As for the meeting of the parliament, I am very clearly of opinion, it should not meet before Christmas: you know from what I wrote upon the affair of the subsidy, I cannot pretend not to be able to substite the army, which we have made provision for 'till the latter end of February; and indeed I am of the dutchesse's opinion, that 'tis better to make the king easie by staying late this year, which may prevent another year's expedition, than to halten him over, when 'tis of no service. I allways thought the adjournments at Christmas, tended more to cabals, than all other occasions. I have given the duke of Newcastle the particulars relating to Mons. Hattorff's lodgings, and have given all other necessary orders for the dispatch of what he is pleas'd to desire; and you may assure Mons. Hattorff, I will take effectual care, that every thing shall be done against he comes, entirely to his satisfaction: and pray my lord, take this occasion, of giving him my assurances of my most sincere respect, and best services to him. The duke of Kent has been with me, and is willing rather to take the 2000 £ per annum, than be kept any longer in suspense. I do not trouble you with my own indispositions, but I have been really worse for a few days last week, than I have often been, my ail lies wholly

* Teller of the exchequer.

† Secretary at war.

In my head, 'tis certainly something of a goutish humour, which not fixing Period III.
in my limbs, flies about me, and often affects my head and stomach. I think ^{1720 to 1727.}
you are entirely in the right, to fix St. Martin's for Claggett; for your brother ^{1723.}
now taking the part of Egerton, 'tis necessary to show them they cannot carry
it; and Claggett must see, and say to whom he owes it. Manni is gone back:
I have neither time nor patience to trouble you any farther now, but will ex-
plain that matter further to you next opportunity.

ROBERT WALPOLE TO LORD TOWNSHEND.

*On the disturbances in Ireland about Wood's patent.—Transmits the addresses
of both houses, and a sketch of the king's answer.—Recommends a due mixture
of moderation and firmness.*

MY LORD,

Whitehall, Oct. 11—13, 1723.

HAVING nothing to trouble your lordship with, that presses in point of <sup>Townshend
Papers.</sup> time, but what concerns the addresses of the Irish parliament, I choose ^{Private.} to defer sending a messenger till next week, and to trust this to the common post. I have transmitted to my lord Carteret the addresses of both houses to the king, to be laid before his majesty; and as I think the only present consideration is, what answer his majesty shall give to them, it seems to me a matter of great nicety and difficulty; for as they have made this the first businesse of the session, and every thing, that concerns the government, is still behind, if an answer distasteful to the Irish nation should be given, it may be of ill consequence, and create many new difficulties in Ireland, which perhaps was one of the chief designs in bringing this matter on. On the other hand, since 'tis most certain, that they have gone on so precipitately, as to be mistaken in all their facts, it must never be admitted, that the king in his answer should take those things for granted which are not true, or yield in that generall point, wherein both houses so expressly declare against the coining any money in Great Britain for Ireland; which makes me of opinion, that the king's answer should be general, and somewhat to this effect: "That his majesty is very much concerned to see, that the granting this patent, agreeable to the practice of his royal predecessors, had given so much uneasiness to his subjects of Ireland: and if there have been any abuses committed by the patentee, that his majesty is willing to give the necessary orders for inquiring into and punishing those abuses, and will do every thing that is in his power, for the satisfaction of his people."

Period III. Something of this kind, I should hope would answer the present purpose, at least, make all those who pretend to be zealous for the king's service, inex-
 1720 to 1727. cusable, if upon this account they putt any stop to the king's businesse, and
 1723. indeed it is impossible for the king to do any thing more; for that Wood has not transgressed against his patent, is most certain; that the profit upon the undertaking is so far from being 150 per cent. that 'tis demonstrable 'tis under 20 per cent.; that the patent being an absolute grant for 14 years, 'tis not in the power of the crown, to reverse or revoke it, but upon a due course of law by *scire facias*, or other writt; and that 'tis impossible to assign and prove any such breaches of the terms and conditions of the patent, as in any degree shall invalidate or make void the grant; that the granting such patents is an undoubted prerogative of the crown, exercis'd and practis'd by several of the king's predecessors; that the last coinage of copper money in Ireland, was by a grant from king William for 21 years to private persons; and the preceding coinage was by a like grant from king James the 2d; and that the money coin'd by virtue of those patents, was much inferiour to this, both in weight and goodness of copper. This being the state of the case, I cannot tell what better to advise, than not give such an answer as may provoke a fitting parliament, before the king's businesse is done, and yett not make such concessions as shall give up any part of the king's prerogative, or admitt a blame where there is really none. We have this day apprehended George Willson, I have just examined him very briefly. He hitherto denies roundly; but I believe by next post, I shall give a pretty good account of him. Yesterday died lord Cowper, after a few days illnesse of a strangury, attended wjth a feavour.

LORD TOWNSHEND TO ROBERT WALPOLE.

Obtains letters credential for Horace Walpole.—Astonishment and chagrin of lord Carteret on that occasion.—Townshend's influence with the king—not apprehensive of any opposition.—Is surprised at the addressees of the two houses of parliament in Ireland against Wood's patent.

DEAR SIR,

Gohde, Oct. 25, 1723.

Hardwicke Papers. I Am heartily glad to find by yours of the 1st, that my brother Horace was set out for Paris; and that you had managed matters so dexterously, as to make Mr. Law believe his taking that route, was the effect of his advice. The king's agreeing to send my brother Horace over thither, was a great mark of his confidence towards us; but still, as he was under the strictest obligations

ORIGINAL CORRESPONDENCE.

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of concealing his commission, every body was at liberty to speculate and so doubt, if they could, whether his journey was undertaken by the king's direction or not. But I have the satisfaction to acquaint you, that that affair is put past all dispute, by the king's making such a declaration in our favor, as must convince the most credulous, how low lord Carteret's interest is sunk. Upon my only suggesting to the king, that it might facilitate Horace's commission, if he had some credential from his majesty, during his stay at Paris; and telling him, that the admission of the king of Portugal into the quadruple alliance, furnished a handle for fending him a full power, his majesty immediately relished the proposal, and undertook to start it the next day to lord Carteret, as his own thought, which he accordingly did with great dexterity, and gave his lordship (who did not dare to make the least difficulty) positive orders, to fend into England by this messenger, for the proper instruments for that purpose. This indisputable mark of confidence towards us, and neglect towards lord Carteret and Schaub, cannot fail to induce the duke of Orleans and the French minister to open themselves towards my brother Horace, and to court our friendship; and the king's putting so near a relation of ours, over Schaub's head, in a court, where the whole secret of affairs centers at present in lord Carteret's province, and in the strength and heart of his interest, will be such a publication to the world of the superiority of our credit, that I think a stronger neither can, nor ought to be desired at present. I make no doubt, but the accounts the king has received of the boasts of our adversarys, have contributed to the drawing down this mortifying stroke on their heads, which I can assure you, has so astonished lord Carteret, that I never observed in him on any occasion, such visible marks of despair; and I am as sure as I can be of any thing, that our not appearing desirous of having declarations made in our favor, will be the surest way of obtaining them, let the superiority of our adversarys be cried up as much as it will in England. I do assure you, that the contrary is known and felt, and owned here, even by lord Carteret himself; and I believe, if you will reflect on what has passed, as to the disposition of preferments, or the keeping them open; you yourself must be satisfied, that lord Carteret's friends cannot think in their hearts, that those matters have gone as he wished they should. His friend Bernsdorf, is now at his country seat, but two or three German miles from this place, waiting in vain for an invitation to come hither, and not daring to come without it.

The king is determined to remove lord Middleton, whenever you think it for the service; and tho' I take it for granted you would not wish to have it

Period III.
1720 to 1723

1723.

Period III. done in the heat of the present stupid enquiry, it will only depend on you
1726 to 1727. to send for the feals from him when you please. The teller's place, tho' lord
 Sutherland has writ earnestly for it, will be kept open, 'till the king's return;
1723. and I make not the least doubt will then be disposed of in the manner you
 shall judge most for the public service. How affairs stand with the duchess, I
 have already fully informed you, as likewise how clear a course I have steered in
 relation to the other ladys; and what the king's daily civilities to me are, who-
 ever will write truth from this place, is able to witness: so that upon the whole,
 our campaign upon this side of the water, has been much more successful than
 I dared to promise myself; and I think ought to support you under such idle
 rumours at London, as it would hardly be in our power to prevent, but by such
 unreasonable and importunate demands, as would check and starve the growth
 of our interest, and help to turn those rumours themselves into reality.

I have read over Wood's paper, and am amazed how any grave assembly
 could come to such rash and false assertions. I have writ my mind freely to
 the duke of Grafton on this subjeſt, and desire you would let me have your
 thoughts, what answer should be returned to the monstrous addresses of the
 two houſes. I should be glad to know, whether it be true in fact, that former
 patentees were obliged to exchange the copper coin for gold and silver, when
 required. I have not yet troubled the king on the disagreeable ſubject of the
 duke of Kent's 2000*l.* per annum, fince my being here, and should be heartily
 glad that affair might ref till we come back. The goodness of the weather
 makes the diversions of this place highly agreeable to his majesty, and I can
 give no gueſs as yet, when we ſhall return to Hanover.

I beg of you, that the true motive of Horace's journey to France, may re-
 main an entire ſecret to every mortal but the duke of Newcastle. I again re-
 peat to you, that I know the ground I ſtand on, that I am ſure I have better
 intereſt here than I ever had in my life; that I despife the ſhort lived appear-
 ances raised to the contrary in England; and I earnestly desire of you, that the
 leaſt of the ſecrets I write you, may not be divulged, in order to destroy them.
 I am moſt heartily concerned to hear of your late indisposition, and beg of
 you above all things to take care of your health. I return you captain Ber-
 nay's commission ſigned; and am with the greatest truth and affection, &c.

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ROBERT WALPOLE TO LORD TOWNSHEND.

Period III.

1720 to 1727

Informs him that every proper method was taken to assay Wood's coinage.—Justifies the difference in the fineness between English and Irish half-pence.—^{1723.}
Macky sent to Brussels as a spy.—Recommends Dr. Smallbrook to be bishop of St. David's.

MY LORD,

Whitchall, October 18—29, 1723.

 Townshend
Papers.

Private.

I Have explained the affair of the Irish coinage so fully to your lordship, that I have little to add upon that subject; and by my letter of the 11th instant, when I sent the two addresses to my lord Carterett, I gave it as my opinion, that his majesty's answer should be very generall, expressing his concern at their uneasiness, that his majesty had done no more than what had been done by all his predecessors; and that he would do all *that is in his power* to give him satisfaction; which I think must satisfie those that are not determined not to be satisfied. What your lordship suggests about sir Isaac Newton, has in a great measure been done already; sir Isaac was consulted in every step in passing the patent; a controller was directed by the patent, that was to assay, try, and prove the finenesse and goodnesse of the copper, and the weight of the coin; sir Isaac Newton was himself made the first controller; but at his request, Mr. Barton, his nephew, was made the controller in his room. Upon the first apprehension of this trouble, the controller was directed to try and prove the coin; and he has reported, that it answer'd in all respects; this report of the controller's was, by order of the treasury, transmitted to Ireland; and I understand, was laid before the parliament of Ireland, but not at all regarded. And as to what is said, that this coinage for Ireland, is not so good as the last coinage for England, it is admitted that the farthings and half-pence are less in weight, which at the time of passing the patent, was consider'd, and found to be necessary; for your lordship knows the exchange of money between England and Ireland, is about 12*l.* per cent. which is above 3*d.* per pound of copper; the duty of importation, is $\frac{1}{4}$ per pound; and the patentee then insisted, upon what he since found true by experience, that he should be obliged to make an allowance of about 10*l.* per cent. to such persons, as shoud take in traffick, quantities of this money at first, to issue and circulate in Ireland. These considerations sufficiently justifie the difference in the weight of the two coins, when at the same time it is admitted on all hands, that the Irish coin in finenesse of metall, exceeds the English.

MEMOIRS OF SIR ROBERT WALPOLE.

Period III. I think I have never yett given you an account of my sending Mr. Macky
 1720 to 1727 privately to reside at Bruffels, to learn, and give us what intelligence he could,

1723.

of the late bishop's motions; he was to personate a jacobite, and has acted his part so well, that he has got admittance to the bishop, and into some degree of confidence with him, which he has satisfied me in, by sending me over an original letter from the bishop to him, all in the bishop's own hand writing; and the accounts he gives me, of their conversations, are very natural and probable. There are two pieces of news he has told me, the one is, lord George Drummond, has been with the bishop from the pretender directly, and staid with him a week incognito. The other is, the bishop to him, has expressed great satisfaction in general Dillon's being reconciled to the duke of Orleans, since the death of the cardinal, which the bishop says, was at the instance of the pretender. And this agrees so far with the accounts from France, that general Dillon has certainly been for some time at Versailles. But if I am not mistaken, Macky has undertaken, and brought about another busineſſe, which may be of great service to his majesty; he has ſett on foot a correspondence betwixt me and Mons. Jaupain, the poſt master generall at Bruffels, who has engaged to open and ſend me copies of all letters, that come and go, to the bishop, from all parts of Europe, and whatever else, he may apprehend to be of conſequence, and has already ſent me over two letters, ſuppos'd to be to and from the bishop; they are very long, and ev'ry title in cypher; I gave them to Mr. Wills on Tuesday, and he has not been yett able to decypher them. I have made no absolute agreement with Mr. Jaupain, but thought I had better firſt fee, how his ſervice would answer; but with humble ſubmiſſion, if it proves of conſequence, I cannot but be of opinion, your brother ſecretary is by no means to be trusted with it. Mr. Delafaye, I believe, gave you an account laſt poſt, of our apprehending George Willſon: he and ſerjeant Slack ſeem now to be outvying each other, in confeſſing and confirming all the paſticulares, that they know, we know already, but are coſtive about all paſticulares, that they have met with in the printed reports and tryalls.

The bishop of St. David's being dead, Dr. Smallbrook is thought on by our bishops to ſucceed him, I ſhall write of this in form in my publick letter, but muſt lett you know, the bishops of London and Exeter are zealously for Smallbrook, but the bishop of Winchester is for Dr. Sydall, tho' on Tuesday morning, to me, he awkardly conſented to Dr. Smallbrook. Pray lett Smallbrook be immediately diſpatched. I have forgott whether I told you, that the bishop of London has deſired me, that the instruments for the clerk

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of the closett, and the almoner, may now be dispatch'd for Winchester and Exeter. He says, Winchester must have it at laft, and they shall break, and thinks the sooner 'tis done the better; and in order to make the doing it now more plausible, by concert with the bishop of London, when they were all three with me, the thing was started, and I am to propose it to the king in form, as their joyn opnions. The death of lord Cowper has made a vacancy among the governors of the charter house. I have told the bishop of London, I thought it very proper that your lordship should be elected, which I suppose will not be disagreeable to you. I have given orders for accepting and paying the bills for 4,500*l.* whenever they come, but your lordship did not mention upon whom the bills were drawn. Bills for the ad 500*l.* part of the 1000*l.* are come, and accepted. Since I began this letter, Mr. Wills has brought me the two letters from Brussels decypher'd, which I fend your lordship, and have not taken copies of them; they are at least an earnest of the good, we may possiblly expect from this correspondence. I am going this afternoon for Norfolk; the duke of Newcastle will constantly attend; I wish I had not quite so much occasion to try what a little country air will do. Is it impossible, if you think it deserves regard, to counterplot Alberoni's return into Spain? I mean by any thing to be done in France.

Period III.
1720 to 1727.

1723.

ROBERT WALPOLE TO LORD TOWNSHEND.

Congratulates him on his success at Hanover.—Offers of submission from the duke of Leeds to the king.—Necessary to watch the late bishop of Rochester at Brussels.—Duke of Grafton angry.—Embarrassments about Wood's patent.

MY LORD,

Houghton, October 26—Nov. 6, 1723.

I Have the pleasure of your lordship's letter of the 25th instant, N. S. which Townshend
gave me a great deal of satisfaction. I cannot enough admire your dexterity and good conduct, throughout the whole summer, and think the success you had, must and will convince every body, where the power and credit is; and when I fent you word, of what is said and given out here, I did it generally more for your information, rather than out of any apprehension, that reports are well founded, for 'tis fitt you should know what they say.

Papers.

I agree with your lordship, that it may be better to have the duke of Leeds in custody by his own consent, than to fend him to the Tower; and I fancy, if he does not come over designedly as a leading card to try the experiment for

Period III. for others in the like case, he may be lead to ask and accept the king's pardon
~~1720 to 1727.~~ in form; and his writing to me, and inclosing his letter to the king open,
 1723. gives me a good pretence to talk to him in that manner, and I believe the rest
 of the regents will decline having much to do with him. Whilst I am writing,
 the post is come in, and brings me a letter from the duke of Leeds from Ply-
 mouth of the 17th instant. It is all submission, and begging me to intercede
 with the king for his pardon; but he says, not being able to travail, he must
 take his passage by sea to London, where when he arrives, he will come imme-
 diately to me. I think this may give me an opportunity of managing this
 matter pretty well, wherein I shall certainly take the opinion of the lords
 justices. The intercepted letter from Rome, that comes now, has nothing in
 it very material, but as I am persuaded all businesse will center at Brussells,
 Atterbury or at least, that no design of consequence will be kept from the bishop,* I
 cannot but think, if this affair be well managed, it may be of use.

I choose not to send your letter to the duke of Grafton, he is already
 sufficiently mortified; I wrote to him two or three letters with great freedom
 whilst the affair was depending, which he has taken so ill, that he has left off
 writing any thing to me but bare office letters; that with your leave, I would
 vex him no more, where 'tis of no further use. But betwixt you and I, I think
 our friend has shewn himself a fair weather pilott, that knew not what he had
 to doe, when the first storm arose, and his friend Conolly has been so very
 cunning, that he has acted a part, that almost excuses what the Brodericks have
 done, but their affair deserves consideration, for there can be no doubt by
 whom they were set on, and if some examples are not made, you will have more
 of it.

LORD TOWNSHEND TO ROBERT WALPOLE.

*The king proposes to make a present of 3000l. to the countess Platen.—The
 duchess of Kendal is not averse to the marriage, but jealous lest the countess
 of Platen should contrive to come to England.—Satisfactory dispatches from
 Horace Walpole.*

DEAR SIR,

Gohde, Nov. 15, 1723.

Hardwicke
Papers.

Copy.

THE occasion of my dispatching this messenger, is to acquaint you, that the
 duke of Orleans having at last consented to the making monsieur de la Vrili-
 liere a duke, and the match by that means going on, his majesty has been pleased,
 upon

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upon this occasion, to think of making a present to the countess of Platen, towards the charges of fitting the young lady out, and of removing with her to Paris. As the countess is none of the best economists; and her family affairs are by that means in no very good situation, the king has thoughts of making her a present of three thousand pounds; and though he is sensible that the presents lately made with political views have come thick upon you, yet he desires you would, if possible, order matters so as to accept bills on Lowther for one half of this sum about a fortnight hence, and for the remainder about a fortnight after. The occasion is such, as is not likely to return. I have acquainted the duchess with my writing to you on this subject, who is perfectly easy in our helping this matter forward, but is very much disturbed at the prospect, she thinks there is of the countess's making use of the interest this match will give her at the court of France, towards removing into England, which may so much easier be compassed from thence, than from this country. I have satisfied her, that the only way to prevent this, is to have some minister in France whom we can confide in, and who may have influence enough with the French court, to make them divert the countess from any such thoughts. Which proposal, she relishes as well as can be desired, and I am fully satisfied, no endeavors of her's will be wanting, to put matters there on a better foot.

I received an express from Horace at Paris, this morning, with dispatches that are very satisfactory, and much to his credit; they are at present before the king; but as we are to celebrate the festival of St. Hubert (the German Holyrood) this evening, I shall defer entering into the detail of them, till I can send you an account how they operate. I have received your letter of the 18th October, and am in hopes the Brussels correspondence may turn to good account.

There is some talk of our moving from this place the beginning of this week; but it is as yet uncertain; and if the sport should continue as good as it was this morning, nothing will induce the king to change this place for Hanover, till the frosts come in. Mr. Poyntz added the last paragraph by mistake; for I verily believe the king will leave this place the beginning of next week. I am yours most entirely.

Period III.
1720 to 1737.
1733.

LORD

Period III.
1720 to 1727.
1723.

LORD TOWNSHEND TO THE DUKE OF NEWCASTLE.

Marshal Hartenberg declared minister.—Cabals to delay the king's departure for England.

MY DEAR LORD,

Hanover, November 27, 1723.

Hardwicke
Papers.

Copy.

I Received the honor of your grace's letter of the 5th instant, O. S. at the Gohrde, which place we left on Wednesday. The mareschal is at last declared minister, upon the king's return to this place; and we shall soon see, whether his being securely possessed of the dignity he has so long been working at, will make him return to a more uniform behavior towards his old friends, and renounce his new alliances as no longer necessary. I have some reason to believe, that he looks on lady Walsingham as his determined enemy; and that this joined to his natural falsehood, has driven him to tamper with the opposite faction: but be the cause what it will, the effect is so certain, that your grace may depend upon it, this new accession of power will not help to restore him to the dutches's confidence; tho' I have most earnestly desired her grace, and she has been pleased to promise me, to keep fair with him, which I think it necessary we should all endeavor to do, that if he should be mad enough to throw himself in other hands, we may not reproach ourselves with having driven him to it, but may hold the door open for him to return to his only true interest.

I have taken care, in a private manner, to prepare the king against any surprise in relation to the primacy of Ireland; and I believe your grace may assure the bishop of London, that whenever the vacancy happens, it will be filled up as he proposes.

Great cabals are carrying on here, in order to detain the king longer in this place than we wish for. The next full moon happens on the eleventh of December, new style, and our endeavor must be to prevail with him to make use of it, since otherwise he will probably stay 'till the 10th of January. He has as yet taken no resolution on that head, and I should be glad to have your grace's and Mr. Walpole's opinion, how far it may be necessary to press this point, supposing it should prove disagreeable.

ROBERT WALPOLE TO LORD TOWNSHEND.

Period III.
1720 to 1727.

Rejoices at the happy situation of affairs at Hanover.—His brother Horace does not believe the duke of Orleans is inclined to obtain a dukedom for M. de la Vrilliere.—Schaub's indiscretion.—Recommends at the suggestion of bishop Gibson, Dr. Sydal for the deanery of Rochester, in opposition to bishop Hoadley, who recommends Dr. Burfcaugh.

1723.

MY DEAR LORD,

Whitehall, Nov. 19—30, 1723.

I Am infinitely pleased at the happy situation you find your affairs in, and am ^{Townshend Papers.} very glad you have so much satisfaction in your busincesse, as to atone to you in some degree, for your long absence from home, and the great trouble and perplexities that you must have been engaged in. Although my country expedition may have flung my affairs into a little arrear, I do assure you, the benefit I have found, makes me ample amends, and I hope I shall now be able to make a winter's campaign, which I had more than a little reason to be apprehensive about, when I left this place.

I am very glad Horace's dispatches have given you such satisfaction; and I hope the letter I here send you from him to the duke of Newcastle will have the same good successe. I cannot account for Horace's long reasoning about the affair of Mons. Vrilliere, and think he must surely be mistaken in his apprehensions, by what your lordship writes to me in your private letter of the 4-15th instant. For your lordship is pleas'd to say, the duke of Orleans has consented to make him a duke; but Horace not only in this letter, but in a letter I received yesterday of the 13-24th, has this expression: "I am inclined to believe his majesty is deceived, as to the duke of Orleans's inclination to grant a dukedom to Vrilliere's son, and fear there will be great trouble about it." By this, Horace so very lately, was not at all sensible that this matter was adjusted, which your lordship must have had an account of ten days before. If it has been settled by sir Luke Schaub, and he has conceal'd it from Horace, there is no great matter in it, but his impertinence: if there should be a mistake, and he has represented the affair otherwise than as it really is, it would have an ill air, if the king should take any step upon a presumption, in which he may afterwards find himself deceived. I thought it was necessary you should know this, not doubting but Horace has given you the same account; and I dare say, he will act, and has acted in this affair agreeable to your sentiments, which he is fully apprised of.

MEMOIRS OF SIR ROBERT WALPOLE.

Period III. I send your lordship four more intercepted letters from Brussells, which
1720 to 1727: altho' this correspondence has hitherto contain'd nothing very material, I
 1723. can not but think may be of great consequence, if the secrert is kept: for no-
 thing of moment will ever be resolv'd upon, without the knowledge of that
 Atterbury person;* and by this means, I think the government may one time or other
 have early intimations; which may be of great use. We are yett come to no
 agreement upon the consideration for this service; but I apprehend the de-
 mand will not be low, and I have hints given me, as if this management might
 be further extended upon due encouragement. The bills you last mentioned,
 when they come shall be duely accepted and paid. The duke of Newcastle
 is at Claremont, and desires me to give you his thanks for all your letters,
 and beggs you will not forgett Jervas the painter. He has it much at heart
 to be dispatch'd.

I wrote to you by the last post, and propos'd from the bishop of London to
 keep the deanery of Rochester vacant, but what has since happen'd, has alter'd
 his opinion. I shall now in my public letter, recommend Dr. Sydal to the king,
 to be made dean of Rochester, at the instance of the bishops of London, Exeter,
 and Rochester; and shall take notice, that the bishop of Winchester recom-
 mends Dr. Burseaugh. I send you the Bishop of London's own paper. The de-
 siring this vacancy to be immediately fill'd up, is occasioned by an apprehen-
 sion the bishop of London has, that the bishop of Winchester writes this night
 to your brother Carterett, to recommend Burseaugh, without consulting any
 of his brethren, or ever mentioning him to any of them upon this occasion.
 He came to the office on Saturday morning, and desir'd me to write in favour
 of Dr. Burseaugh. I asked him, whether he had talk'd with the bishop of Lon-
 don and the other bishops, which he said, he had not, and did not seem to
 think it at all necessary; and I understand has not vouchsaf'd to do it. This
 separate acting, the bishop of London thinks sufficiently justifies him, and
 having gott the concurrence of the bishop of the *dioceſe* and of Exeter, hopes
 he is strong enough, and I hope so too. I hope the first return will bring
 the king's letter in favour of Dr. Bland, in whom they all concurr. You
 know there has been a long management about the arch deacon of Oxford,
 which lord chancellor now desires may be filled up by Mr. Robert Cook.
 He is the person to whom it was first promised; and since a friend of his, to
 whom he would have quitted, cannot have it, wishes now to take it himself. I
 suppose you remember, if Cook had declin'd, a friend of the duke of Rutland's
 push'd

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push'd hard for it. I congratulate you in your election to the Charter house, Period III., and must at the same time, beg you will lett a son of Charles Keen's have the ^{1720 to 1727.}
^{1723.} first nomination. I have had this upon my hands a long time, and old Rolfe has now wrote to me in very pressing terms, to secure this favour of your lordship. The filling up the vacancy of the third regiment of guards, was a transaction during my absence. As a piece of secrett history, I should tell you, I am certainly inform'd, the prince sent for Cadogan, and spoke for John Montgomery, whereupon he alter'd a whole scheme of promotions that he had before settled, but I am glad it was done for Montgomery. Horace apprehends, that the king of Portugal's refusing to accede to the quadruple alliance, may give Schaub an occasion to triumph over him; and that he will write to the secretary his patron, that there is now no further occasion for Horace's continuing at Paris. This he already gives out at Paris, believing that Horace went thither by chance; but as we know the contrary, I hope he will find the contrary, till you can determine who to send thither, which I am glad you have a prospect of compassing.

Bishop of London's paper relating to the deanery of Rochester, inclosed.

Rochester. The bishop is never there, and so the dean has the whole government of the place, and the chief conducting of all affairs. The chapter is one half tory. The city returns two members. The dean and chapter have a considerable patronage in Kent. For these reasons, the place requires a person of some figure and authority, and one who has a head for business, and for the managing of a body. It is also to be wish'd, that he may be a person of some fortune, and able to live hospitably for the country clergy; the bishop having no house there.

LORD TOWNSHEND TO THE KING.

States the reason for his return to England.—And the consequences of deferring it.

SIRE,

Hanover, November 30, 1723.

I Hope your majesty will be graciously pleased to pardon the liberty I take, in presuming to lay before you my unbias'd thoughts, on the subject of your majesty's journey to England. I have chosen to reduce them into writing, for no other reason, but because I thought I could state them clearer

Townshend
Papers.
Draught.

Period III. that way, than by word of mouth. I beg leave to assure your majesty, that I
1729 to 1727. have no other view in doing it, than to sett this matter in the clearest light for
1723. your majesty's determination, submitting it entirely to your majesty, as I am
in duty bound to help forward and facilitate whatever resolution your majesty
in your great wisdom shall think proper to take upon this and upon all other
occasions.

The parliament stands prorogued at present to the 19th of November, O. S. which is the 30th N. S. and your majesty has already given farther directions to have it prorogued to the 17th, O. S. which is the 28 December, N. S. The next full moon is on the last day of November, O. S. which is the 11 December, N. S. and as the moon rises but three quarters of an hour later one night than another, this moon will give light for seven or eight nights after, sufficient to prevent any danger of running on the coasts of England. Should your majesty therefore sett out from Hanover about the 14th or 15th of December, N. S. you may propofe to embark about the 17th or 18th, which is the 6 or 7th, O. S. and, having the benefit of this moon, may hope to land in England a week or ten days before the time to which the parliament will then stand prorogued. By which means, before that prorogation expires, a proclamation may be publish'd for proroguing it farther to about the 10th of January, O. S. which is the 21st, N. S. giving notice that it shall meet to do busines at that time, which will be at a proper and convenient distance after the Christmas holidays, and your servants will have full time enough to concert the measures necessary for the conduct of the sessions. The time of the parliament's meeting thus early, being once settled and known, will give almost the same satisfaction and spirit to the nation, as if it were actually assembled; and Mr. Walpole, having already assured your majesty, that he can find means for continuing the payments of the army and fleet till after the holydays, no inconvenience to the public service can possibly ensue.

But should your majesty lett slip this moon, and wait for the next of the 10th of January, N. S. which is the last of December, O. S. notice cannot be given at next prorogation, of the parliament being to meet the 10th, to do busines; because, even supposing your majesty should have the quickest passage possible, your majesty cannot be in London till the 3d or 4th of January, which is the 14th or 15th, N. S. and the parliament being prorogued to the 10th, O. S. it will be impossible to open the parliament at the time appointed; but

but your majesty must inevitably prorogue it at least for a fortnight longer, which will delay the opening of the parliament to the latter end of January, or beginning of February. But yet the parliament, requiring three weeks notice at least, cannot be brought together till some time in February; and it not being certain, whether the payments abovementioned, can be continued thus long, there will be evident danger of involving the publick service in such difficultys, as may very much affect publick credit, and occasion the greatest uneasiness throughout the nation.

But should it farther happen, that the frosts should sett in about that time in Holland, which may naturally be apprehended, no one is able to foresee how long your majesty's passage may be delay'd, nor what the consequence of such a delay may be. The publick supplys (which are granted only from Christmases to Christmases) being exhausted, every branch of the publick service must be at a stand: the parliament must meet late, and probably in ill temper, and the session must unavoidably be protracted to the middle of the summer months.

After having thus stated to your majesty, with the greatest deference and submission, the inconveniencies which it appears to me, may occur from possible accidents and delays, I once more beg leave to assure your majesty, that tho' I have taken the liberty to give my opinion, yet whatever resolution your majesty shall take, I shall most chearfully, and with the utmost readiness and submission, do all in my power towards rendering it practicable and easy; having no other view or desire than that of conducting your majesty's affairs on all occasions, in such manner as may be most to your own service and satisfaction.

LORD TOWNSHEND TO ROBERT WALPOLE.

Encloses the preceding letter to the king, which induced the king to give orders for his immediate return.—Dissatisfaction of the Germans.

DEAR SIR,

Hanover, Sunday, December 5, 1723.

I Believe you will be surprized at the king's having taken the resolution to set out for England on the 16th of this month, N. S. for which reason it will be proper for me to acquaint you in what manner that affair has passed. While the king was at the Gohrde, being unwilling to interrupt his good humour, with proposing any thing so disagreeable, as I apprehended a speedy return to

Hardwicke
Papers.
Copy.

England

Period III. England might be, I ventured no further, than to give him in a paper, stating
^{1720 to 1727.} the times on which the moon-light nights fell. But upon his coming back to
^{1723.} this place, I found the universal bent of the Germans strong for keeping him here, 'till the full moon of the 10th January, N. S. and fearing lest any accident of contrary winds or frosts might detain him so long in Holland, that the parliament (allowing the necessary time for summoning it, and for concerting the operations of the session) might not be able to meet before February; I thought it my duty to lay before his majesty, the possible inconvenience that might arise from his delaying his journey so long, which I chose to reduce to writing, in the form you will see in the enclosed. This letter, far from causing any uneasiness, as I apprehended, had so good an effect, that the king, without saying any thing to me, sent for the marechal the next day, and ordered him to make the necessary dispositions for his beginning the journey on the 16th instant, N. S.

I am sensible you will think the 10th of January, O. S. somewhat of the earliest for bringing the parliament together after the holydays; but it is his majesty's present intention, they should meet to do business on the 9th; and I beg you would suspend your judgment on this resolution, till I have an opportunity to acquaint you with the reasons, which made so early a day appear advisable. I hope this good may at least be expected from it, that the time of the parliament's meeting being known before Christmas, will give new life to the city, and animate publick credit. You will easily imagine, that the king's taking this resolution, has been highly disagreeable to the Germans, and the more so, from their having no notice or participation in it. But I never saw any one more overjoyed than the dutchess upon this occasion; and if I had had any other view besides the king's service, I could not have made my court more effectually with her, than by this step. The only objection and clamour which the most discontented on this side pretend to raise is, that we hazard his majesty's person too much, by proposing to undertake the voyage so long after the full moon, when the former part of the night is entirely dark. But besides, that his majesty did once before set out some days after the full moon, and that he is always liable to be detained by contrary winds, till part of the moon is spent, his majesty himself told me, when I gave him the paper on that subject at the Gohrde, that he had no regard to the moonlight nights.

His majesty desires you would take care, that there may be as little concourse of noisy attendants at his landing, or on the road to London as possible.

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If he should pass through the city or the park, any thing of that kind would be more excusable, tho' it is what he desires entirely to avoid. I could not refuse signing a joint letter to you with lord Carteret for the allowance of 1000*l.* more apiece, for the charges of our journey and stay here, it being what we have really expended. Hoping to meet so soon, I shall defer all other news, only I will venture to assure the duke of Newcastle and you, that we have all reason to be satisfied with our Hanover expedition.

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LORD TOWNSHEND TO THE DUKE OF GRAFTON.

Acquaints him with the king's resolution to remove lord Carteret from the office of secretary of state, to appoint him lord lieutenant of Ireland, and to confer on his grace the post of lord chamberlain.

Whitehall, April 1, 1724.

YOUR grace is so perfectly acquainted with the factions and divisions that have been for some time past among his majestie's servants, and have so often lamented the mischiefs arising from such divisions, that you will not be surpriz'd to hear that the king is at last come to a resolution of doing every thing in his power to put an end to them. The first instance his majesty has given, is by removing Mr. Treby from the war office, which he has this day disposed of to Mr. Henry Pelham; and I believe the seals will be taken from my lord Carteret in a day or two, and given to the duke of Newcastle. In that case, the king intends the lord chamberlain's place for your grace, and Ireland for lord Carteret. As the post his majesty designs for your grace, is of great dignity, so you may depend, that your friends and humble servants will endeavour, to render it as advantageous and easy in all respects, as your grace can desire.

Townshend
Papers.
Draught.

1724.

I send this by express, being desirous to give your grace the first notice of what is doing in these particulars, in which your grace is so much concern'd; but as I write this to yourself alone, must desire this may be an entire secret till the event is determined, of which your grace shall not fail to receive the earliest account possible. I am persuaded, that your grace is so well convinced of the necessity there was of removing lord Carteret from the employment he was in, and of the

MEMOIRS OF SIR ROBERT WALPOLE.

Period III. the impossibility there was of doing it without giving some considerable equivalent, that you are sensible his having the government of Ireland, was in a manner unavoidable. The care his majesty has taken in placing your grace so near his person, will sufficiently convince the world, that his taking away the government of Ireland from you at this time, does not proceed from any disapprobation of your conduct.

LORD TOWNSHEND TO THE DUKE OF GRAFTON.

Informs the duke of the dismissal of lord Carteret, and apologises for not having previously consulted him.

MY LORD,

Whitehall, April 2, 1724.

Townshend Papers. YOUR grace will find, by a letter which you will receive from the duke of Newcastle this post, that his majesty is come to a resolution some days sooner than I expected, in relation to the alterations I mentioned to you in mine of yesterday. As I have ever looked on my interest, and that of my friends as inseparable from your grace's, I flatter myself you will not take it ill, that your grace was not previously consulted upon the alterations, which some circumstances, that I shall hereafter have the honour to explain to you, made impracticable; and as I can with the utmost truth assure you, that there was not the least intention in taking this step, to lessen your grace in the eye of the world, so I hope the distinction his majesty has publicly declared towards your grace, on this occasion, will be an inducement to you to approve of the measures which have been judged absolutely necessary by those who have, and ever had your grace's honour and interest so far at heart, as to look upon it as inseparable from their own.

LORD TOWNSHEND TO THE KING.

Without a date, but evidently written in 1724, not long before the prorogation of the second session of the second septennial parliament, which took place on the 24th of April.

Represents strongly the disadvantages which the king's frequent visits to Hanover occasion, and the advantages which would result from his continuance in England.

SIRE,

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SIRE,

BEING induced to think, from some words which fell from your majesty, when I had the honour to lay before you a draught of the speech, that your majesty may have it in your thoughts to spend the summer at Hanover; I most humbly beg leave, in discharge of the duty I owe to your majesty, to lay before you, with the greatest deference and submission, some short and impartial observations on the present state of your majesty's affairs, in the doing which, if it should be my misfortune to suggest any thing in the least contrary to your majesty's inclinations, I hope from the experience I have long had of your indulgence towards me, that you will not impute it to the want of a due concern for every thing that may promote your majesty's satisfaction (which no one living can wish more passionately than I do) but will believe it to proceed from a sincere zeal for your service, and the future ease and honour of your government; and I beg leave to assure your majesty, that after I have humbly laid before you my thoughts upon this subject, I shall heartily endeavour to facilitate whatever résolutions your majesty shall finally take.

The great spirit and majority with which the bills for punishing the conspirators,* were carried through both houses in the first session of this parliament, the quietness and unanimity with which the publick service has been dispatched in this,† the several good laws that have been passed for the ease and advantage of commerce, and in favour of the publick revenue, the universal and uninterrupted state of tranquillity abroad, and flourishing condition of trade and publick credit at home, have all concurr'd to restore a far more general calm and security throughout the nation, than has been known at any time since your majesty's happy accession to the throne. A very great change has been wrought in favour of your majesty, in the city of London, whose influence and example is of so great consequence to the whole nation, as has appeared in two successive elections, in opposition to the utmost efforts and most indirect practices of the united party of jacobites. The universities have behaved themselves at least inoffensively; and some steps have been taken by your majesty to make it no less their interest than duty to cherish and propagate principles of loyalty and affection to your person and government. So that upon the whole, no doubt can be made, but that if these happy beginnings are thoroughly pursued, and the present good disposition of the

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* Namely, Atterbury, Layer, Plunket.

† This paragraph sufficiently ascertains the date of this letter.

Period III. 1720 to 1727. nation improved and strengthen'd by proper methods and measures which may be still taken, they will grow so settled and confirmed, as to make your majesty's reign for the future no less easy than glorious and successfull.

1724.

But however promising these appearances are, yet your majesty must be sensible, that the jacobite party is still very strong, and their views only suspended in expectation of a favourable opportunity. Of this, your majesty has the strongest proofs, and surest intelligence. Those of the foreign ministers, who are best acquainted with this country, and who, upon account of their religion, may be supposed to be so far admitted into the general designs and consultations of the disaffected, as to be no incompetent judges of the heart and spirit that party is in, do, in their most secret and undisguised relations to their respective courts, where they may be supposed to open their minds with the greatest freedom and sincerity, constantly represent the present tranquillity of this nation, as owing more to the despair of giving your majesty any disturbance from abroad, than to any real change or submission wrought in the minds of the pretender's adherents; insinuating, that if the engagements which at present withhold France and Spain from espousing his cause, were once dissolved, and a bare connivance in his favour from either of those quarters, the spirit of disaffection would soon rally, and the sparks of resentment, which now lye smother'd, would break out into as fierce a flame as ever. However vain their reasonings may be, as to the success that would attend any such practices: yet this much is undeniable, that these notions lessen the weight and influence your majesty ought to have abroad, as to the affairs of Europe in general. And it is equally certain, that nothing will so soon give credit to these opinions and insinuations, as the seeing any handle given to the enemies of your majesty's government, for propagating discontents at home, and for alienating the affections of your majesty's subjects.

Among all the topicks for sowing sedition, there is none which the jacobites have managed with greater industry and success, than your majesty's inclinations frequently to visit your German dominions. But whatever artifice they have employed to this end, yet the necessity of your majesty's inspecting from time to time, the state of your affairs in those parts, and the prudence and caution your majesty has used as to the times and seasons of undertaking this journey, have in a great measure disappointed their endeavours to misrepresent this step: but when they may with some appearance at least insinuate, that this journey will become annual, the wifest man cannot foretell what mischiefs such an opinion, should it gain credit, may produce. Should your majesty

majesty, therefore, after so long a stay as your affairs required you to make at Hanover last year, think it proper and adviseable immediately after the ending of this short session, again to visit your foreign dominions, you would thereby give an opportunity to the disaffected to insinuate, that the same inclinations which call your majesty abroad this summer, being likely always to subsist, will always produce the same effect, and Britain thereby be reduced to the same state with Ireland (where the lord lieutenant never appears, but when the parliament is called to give money) and never enjoy the blessing of your majesty's presence any longer than while this service lasts.

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Having laid before your majesty, the inconveniences and dangers which in my opinion will arise from your going abroad this year; I most humbly beg leave to mention some of the many advantages that will in all probability be the consequences of your majesty's continuance here this summer. In the first place, the well affected party in general, being supported by your majesty's presence, and encouraged by being under your immediate influence, will enabled to make the best advantage of the present good temper the nation is in. Your majesty's friends in the city, will not only carry every thing during the summer, but by the help and assistance of your servants, will be prepared to lay before the parliament, such bills as may for the future secure the government of that important place, entirely in the hands of those who are zealous in your majesty's interest.

The next points of consequence to the peace, ease, and security of your majesty's government, are the clergy and the two universities, and if a right use is made of their present disposition, I am perswaded, it will not be difficult to find out some farther encouragements, that will make the majority of those great bodies firm friends to your majesty; and as your majesty knows, that I have always had the gaining them over to your majesty very much at heart, so I have lately had frequent conversations on this head with the bishop London,* who is, with me, fully persuaded it would be very practicable to reduce them to a better fense of their duty; and we have already made a rough draught of some things proper to be done for this end. The last and most important consideration, is the preserving that zeal and affection towards your majesty, which has hitherto appeared so eminently in this parliament, and taking hold of the present situation of your affairs, for concerting, during the recess, such measures as may, with their concurrence, at their next meeting, secure your majesty and the nation, from those frequent convulsions, which have at all times been felt by your royal predecessors, ever since the revolution.

• Gibson.

Period III. I must before I conclude, beg leave to make one further observation of your
1720 to 1727. majesty, that should you be pleased to defer going abroad this summer, your
1724. majesty may, by calling the parliament in October next, have the session
finished in February, and without the least inconvenience to your affairs, sett
out from hence in the beginning of March next, and stay at Hanover, if you
think fit, till January following. So that take two years together, you will at
once pass almost as many months there as you could do, if you went this sum-
mer and the next; with this only difference, that the one may occasion and
bring inextricable difficulties upon your affairs here, and the other will not give
rise even to the least murrnor.

I presume to send your majesty my thoughts upon this matter in writing,
that what I have to lay before your majesty may be done with greater exact-
ness and privacy. I once more beg your majesty will believe, that what is
here said upon a subject, which I fear will be disagreeable to you, flows from
a heart full of duty and veneration for your sacred person, and from no other
motives, but those of honour and conscience; and that after I have laid my
thoughts with the greatest deference before your majesty, I shall not only
obey, but chearfully execute whatever your majesty shall think fit to deter-
mine; being with the warmest zeal and most unalterable attachment, sir,
your majesty's most dutifull subject, and most devoted servant.

This firm but respectful representation had its due effect; the king did not remove from England, and his presence was highly instrumental in maintaining the domestic tranquillity.

LETTERS BETWEEN COUNT BROGLIO AND THE KING OF FRANCE.

*These letters contain much curious intelligence, concerning the state of the court
and ministry, though, in some respects, they cannot be implicitly relied on,
as they occasionally relate the current rumours of the day.*

COUNT BROGLIO TO THE KING OF FRANCE.

Walpole
Papers. (July 6, 1724.) AS the duchess of Kendal seemed to express a desire to
see me often; I have been very attentive to her; being convinced that it is
highly essential to the advantage of your majesty's service, to be on good terms
with her, for she is closely united with the three ministers who now govern;
and

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and these ministers are in strict union together, and are as far as I can judge, well inclined. They visit me very frequently, both together and singly; and I behave to them in the same manner. Chavigny strongly assured me, that I might place an entire confidence in them. Their future conduct will enable me to judge better of their sentiments. The king of England, has made Chavigny a present of 1000*l.* which is double to what is usually given to envoys. Both the king and the ministers appear to be very well satisfied with him.

Lord Townshend and Mr. Walpole have been lately indisposed, but they are now quite recovered. It is much to be wished, that they should remain in power, for they appear anxious to maintain the good intelligence which subsists between the two crowns; they possess an unbounded influence over the king and the duchess of Kendal, they enjoy the whole power of government, and the entire confidence of the king.

The prince of Wales endeavours to obtain information of what passes, from persons who are attached to him; but he learns nothing either from the king, the duchess, or the ministers. The king goes every afternoon at five o'clock to the duchess, the ministers occasionally attend; and it is there that affairs which require secrecy are treated. M. Dillon has introduced me to his relations and friends, who, as he informs me, can supply me with good intelligence.

(July 10.) THE more I consider state affairs, the more I am convinced, that the government is entirely in the hands of Mr. Walpole, lord Townshend, and the duke of Newcastle, who are on the best terms with the duchess of Kendal. The king visits her every afternoon from five to eight; and it is there, that she endeavours to penetrate the sentiments of his Britannic majesty, for the purpose of consulting the three ministers, and pursuing the measures which may be thought necessary for accomplishing their designs. She sent me word, that she was desirous of my friendship, and that I would place confidence in her. I assured her, that I would do every thing in my power to merit her esteem and friendship. I am convinced that she may be advantageously employed in promoting your majesty's service, and that it will be necessary to employ her; though I will not trust her further than is absolutely necessary.

Staremberg hopes to go to France in a month, with the character of ambassador. He had written to the court of Vienna, that he had discovered a close

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Period III. close union between the ministers of France, Spain, and England. He received for answer, that the imperial court was persuaded of the good-will of several persons who composed the cabinet of Spain; but that if they were not to be implicitly depended on, the government was so * * * and their powers so weak, that there was nothing to fear. It must be of advantage to your majesty's service, that a quarrel has broken out between this ambassador, and the king, and ministry of Great Britain. I shall not exert myself to adjust the difference.

(20th July.) LORD Townshend did not solicit the honour of a garter for himself, he had even requested it for another person; but the king, spontaneously, insisted on his accepting it, notwithstanding his remonstrating with great modesty, that there were many persons more deserving of it than himself. It is, however, generally believed, that the duchess of Kendal, at the instigation of lord Townshend, suggested to the king, that it would be proper to invest him with the garter; and there is a great appearance of probability in the conjecture. It is much to be wished, for the maintenance of the union between your majesty and the king of England, that no misfortune may happen to Mr. Walpole, he being absolutely the helm of government: the king cannot do without him, on account of his great influence in the house of commons, where he depends entirely upon him, in every respect. He is a man of great abilities, and very enterprizing. The house place a most unreserved confidence in him, and he has the address to persuade them, that the national honour is dearer to him, than all the wealth in the world. He is very ably seconded by Townshend, who is a man of great capacity, and with whom he is in perfect harmony. The duke of Newcastle, who is indebted to him for his situation, submits to his judgment in every thing, so that the king experiences no contradiction to his wishes, but leaving the internal government entirely to Walpole, is more engaged with the German ministers in regulating the affairs of Hanover, than occupied with those of England. It is to be observed, that Mr. Walpole adjusted the quarrel between the king and prince of Wales. He entirely governed the prince at that period, but he has since left him, and attached himself to the king. For some years past, the king has not spoke a word to the prince, nor the prince to him: the princess of Wales, sometimes in public, attacks the king in conversation; he answers her; but some who are well apprized, that his majesty likes her no better than the prince, have assured me, that he only speaks to her on these occasions, for the sake of deco-

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rum. The king regularly receives a thousand pounds every week, which he keeps himself; the remainder of the revenue of the civil list, amounting to six hundred thousand pounds sterling, per annum, is remitted every month to his treasurer. It is said, that the prince of Wales is a very good economist, not only of the one hundred thousand pounds a year allowed him by parliament, but of the revenues of the principality of Wales, which may amount to 20,000*l.* more.

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The king has no predilection for the English nation, and never receives in private any English of either sex; none even of his principal officers are admitted to his chamber in a morning to dress him, nor in the evening to undress him. These offices are performed by the Turks, who are his valets de chambre, and who give him every thing he wants in private. He rather considers England as a temporary possession,* to be made the most of while it lasts, than as a perpetual inheritance to himself and family. He will have no disputes with the parliament, but commits the entire transaction of that business to Walpole, chusing rather that the responsibility should fall on the minister's head than his own, and being well apprized that a king of Great Britain is obliged, when the parliament requires it, to give an account of his conduct, as well with respect to the liberty of the subject, as to the execution and formation of laws. I have even been assured, that the king has expressed himself to this effect.

• Aubaine

I am persuaded, on the other hand, that Mr. Walpole, who is immensely rich, would wish to retire from business, and enjoy his wealth in quiet, but as he has excited a great share of enmity and envy, it would be dangerous for him to retire; he is under the necessity of retaining his situation to preserve to himself and family the wealth and honours of which they are possessed. I am even inclined to think, that he entertains hopes of a particular protection from the king, if he should happen to fall into disgrace; I labour daily, with all the dexterity I possess, to induce him to think so, that I may keep him in the favourable sentiments he now entertains towards your majesty. I am very much deceived, if affairs are not exactly as I represent them; and I think I may go so far as to claim your entire confidence in the statements I have the honour to make.

Carteret no longer goes to court, the prevailing party has intirely destroyed his influence with the king. He is no longer engaged in business; he is a man of great vivacity and intelligence, and very ambitious; he has already changed

his

Period III. his party several times, from interested motives, a circumstance which has
1720 to 1727 brought him into disgrace with all parties. There is a strict friendship and
1724. union between him and my lord Cadogan; and I think it very fortunate for
your majesty's interest, that Carteret is out of power; having been assured by
people who pretend to great information on the subject, that he was very much
devoted to the interest of the emperor.

The ministry hold Cadogan very cheap, and as he receives 20,000*l.* sterling
a year from the treasury, he is Walpole's humble servant, a circumstance not at
all to his honour, as he is treated with much indignity, and there is no reason for
him to expect a change of situation, or that he will obtain the patents, of
which he is so desirous. He has no influence at court, or in parliament,
nor is he beloved by the people at large. He keeps up his respectability
only by the fortune he has amassed in the wars, and the revenues of his offices.
He is a man of courage, and behaved well in his situation of quarter master
general, and on other occasions. The immense wealth he has acquired, and
his having, by means of the powerful influence of the duke of Marlborough,
passed over the heads of many of his seniors in the army, have drawn on him
a great many enemies. Every body speaks of him to me in those terms; and
I am inclined to think, that the ministry would dismiss him, and give his
place to some one else, but the duke of Argyle is next in rotation to take the
command of the troops; and as he is a man of exalted rank, who has seen a
great deal of service, is well versed in intrigue, and would not submit to their
authority, as they would wish, they retain Cadogan, but humble him as
much as possible, on every occasion.

THE KING OF FRANCE TO COUNT BROGLIO.

(July 18, 1724.) THERE is no room to doubt, that the duchess of Ken-
dal, having a great ascendancy over the king of Great Britain, and main-
taining a strict union with his ministers, must materially influence their principal
resolutions. You will neglect nothing to acquire a share of her confidence,
from a conviction that nothing can be more conducive to my interest. There
is, however, a manner of giving additional value to the marks of confidence
you bestow on her in private, by avoiding in public all appearances which
might seem too pointed, by which means you will avoid falling into the in-
convenience of being suspected by those who are not friendly to the duchess;
at the same time, that a kind of mysteriousness in public, on the subject of
your

your confidence, will give rise to a firm belief of your having formed a friendship mutually sincere. I cannot be too particular in recommending to you to be very attentive in watching the conduct of Dillon's relation; and not only that you ought to be very cautious of giving credit to any intelligence you may receive through that channel, but you ought even to be convinced, that nothing will render you more an object of suspicion at the court where you are, than that officer's maintaining a too frequent intercourse with his relations and friends; for it would beget a suspicion, that you lanction, or at least connive at such an intimacy. For these reasons, as soon as you perceive a too frequent correspondence between that officer and any person whomsoever, which might be in the smallest degree suspicious to the English government, send him back to France, and enter into no explanations with him on the subject.

You are informed, by one of the memorials subjoined to your instructions, as well as by the copies, you have received from Chauvigny, of the last letters written to him, of the present state of the negotiation set on foot to reconcile the king of Great Britain and the czar. You know the obstacles it has to encounter; that they arise principally from the reserve these princes maintain towards each other: it is very difficult to bring any affair to a conclusion, when extraneous difficulties are added to those which are naturally incident, as is the case in the present instance. We are informed, that the Danish minister, at the court of the czar, convinced that the reconciliation would be prejudicial to the interests of his master, endeavours to prevent it, and consequently exerts himself to augment the disinclination the ministers of the czar had long manifested to this reconciliation. You may communicate this intelligence to the British ministry, giving them to understand, that it ought to be an additional motive for their sovereign to dismiss his reserve towards the czar, and to terminate an affair, the conclusion of which, ought to appear more desirable to him, from the solicitude of other powers to prevent its taking effect.

Prince Eugene, after having testified some discontent, that the Imperial ministers at Cambrai had made demands on some points foreign to the objects for which the congress was instituted, and particularly on the order of succession established by the emperor in his dominions, explained himself clearly enough on the subject of the garrisons to be established in Tuscany and Parma, and spoke of it as a point subject to discussion and explanation. But the stipulations of the fifth article of the treaty of London are so clear on this point, and the emperor is so far obliged to concur in the unqualified ex-

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Period III. Execution of them, that the arguments of prince Eugene can never be adopted
~~1720 to 1727.~~ by the mediating powers, nor maintained by the Imperial ministers. The
 1724. conversation then turned on titles, and on the golden fleece. On the first
 subject, it may be supposed, by what has been said, that the emperor did
 not make many difficulties in giving up titles to which he had no longer any
 pretension, and that the sentiments of Spain were perfectly reciprocal. Prince
 Eugene was not so explicit on the subject of the golden fleece; but several
 circumstances lead to a belief, that the court of Vienna is desirous to exercise
 the functions of grand master of that order. However difficult it may be to
 form any decisive opinions from this conversation between prince Eugene and
 M. Dubourg, it may be fairly inferred from that, and several other things,
 which have been communicated at different periods, that the court of Vienna
 is really desirous to terminate the congress of Cambray; the duration of which
 keeps them in a state of suspense. Nothing can be more fortunate than this
 disposition, and advantage may be taken of it, in the course of the negotia-
 tion, to procure greater benefits to the court of Spain; I am sure, the mi-
 nisters of the court where you are, will be of the same opinion, when you
 communicate to them, which you will easily find an opportunity of doing, the
 information I have given you, of the advices received a few days ago from
 Vienna.

COUNT BROGLIO TO THE KING OF FRANCE.

(July 24, 1724.) ONE of the two knights recently created, is my lord
 Scarborough, master of the horse to the prince of Wales, and very much at-
 tached to him. He has found means to manage so well, that the ministers
 persuaded the king to give him the ribband, in preference to many others,
 who had a better right to expect that honour. It is the policy of the mi-
 nisters to procure places for those who are attached to, and in favour with the
 prince of Wales; fearing that a time may come when they will stand in need
 of their services. It is certain that the king has not done it out of affection
 for the prince of Wales, and that the prince did not speak a word to him on
 the subject. I assert this from the best authority.

(July 27, 1724.) I Shall obey your majesty's commands, in respect to
 Dillon's relation, on the slightest appearance of a too great intimacy between
 him and his family, which might be disagreeable to government. As yet,
 however, he has had no opportunity of doing any thing contrary to your
 wishes,

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wishes, his relations being almost all in the country, according to custom at this time of the year, so that he has only been able to see a very few of them. Period III.
1720 to 1727.
I will find means to give him a hint, as from myself, that being an Irishman, he should be more guarded both in conversation and behaviour, than the other officers in the French service, whom your majesty has permitted to come to this country. 1724

PAPERS AND LETTERS PRINCIPALLY RELATING TO LORD BOLINGBROKE.

Intelligence respecting lord Bolingbroke.

(De Paris le 10 May, 1715.) MILORD Bullingbrook part pour aller faire sa résidence dans le Lionnois à portée de Geneve, muni d'une bonne lettre de crédit sur le chevallier Richard Cantillon, Irlandois, banquier en cette ville et chevallier de la façon du pretendant. Il reconnoit à présent le mauvais tour, que luy a joué le comte d'Oxford, en se cachant dans sa province, et faisant repandre le bruit, qu'il s'estoit sauvé, à dessein de faire peur à mi lord Bullingbrook, et luy faire prendre le parti qu'il a pris. Il reconnoit aussi, que le pretendant a rendu un grand service au roy George, en parlant dans son manifeste de l'intelligence qui estoit entre luy et la feuë tine Anne. Que par la même raison il avoit aussi ruiné tous ceux qui avoient dans ce pays été dans ses interests, assurant qu'il n'y en avoit plus un seul, qui desormais vouloit entendre parler de luy. Il a adjouté dit-on, sans que je sache, si c'e n'est pas une charité qu'on luy prête, que cette seule démarche du pretendant suffissoit de convaincre tout le monde qu'il estoit vray fils de son Pere. Townshend
Papers.

EARL OF STAIR TO HORACE WALPOLE.

Ill founded reports circulated at Paris, that lord Bolingbroke had betrayed the pretender.

(Paris, March 3, 1716.) THIS true jacobite project has been at last discovered, and they imagine nobody would tell it but Bolingbroke; who, they have now as they say, clearly discovered, has all along betrayed them; and so poor Harry is turned out from being secretary of state, and the seals are given to Mar; and they use poor Harry most unmercifully, and call him knave Walpole
Papers.

Period III. and traytor, and God knows what not. I believe all poor Harry's fault was,
1720 to 1727. that he could not play his part with a grave enough face: he could not help
1724. laughing now and then at such kings and queens. He had a mistress here at Paris; and got drunk now and then, and he spent the money upon his mistress, that he should have bought powder with, and neglected buying and sending the powder and the arms, and never went near the queen; and in one word, told lord Stair all their designs, and was had out of England for that purpose. I would not have you laugh, Mr. Walpole, for all this is very serious. For the rest they begin now to apprehend, that their king is unlucky; and that the westerly winds and B's treason have defeated the finest project that ever was laid. The French are very angry with B. and speak very ill of him in every house in Paris; but for the rest of them, they say they are mad and dream, and that they never intended to help him at all. By this time you have reason to think my epistle long enough, and not wrote with that gravity which becomes a minister, but that is not altogether my fault; for I have told you nothing but sober and serious truths.

This is a private letter, not be given up to the house of commons.

LORD BOLINGBROKE TO SIR WILLIAM WYNDHAM.

Represents the ill conduct, weakness, and desperate situation of the pretender's affairs, as a warning, and dissuades his friend from entering into any engagements in that line.

**Townshend
Papers.** (September 13, 1716.) HOWEVER this letter comes to your hands, you are not to be surprised, since it will not be sent, unless such measures are taken as may render the conveyance of it secure. A common friend of yours and mine, who arrived some time agoe in this country, gave me hopes of seeing you here. In the first heate, I flattered myself with so pleasing an expectation: but when I reflected upon your past and present circumstances, I began to despair; and yet dear Willey, it would be of the utmost importance to you, to our friends, and to our country too, if I could have an hour's conversation with you, and make you feel in discourse, what must be very imperfectly and very faintly represented in a letter. Depend upon what I say to you, my dearest friend, nothing can be so desperate as the circumstances of affairs, nothing so miserable as the characters, nothing so weake as the measures; and whoever represents things in another light, is guilty either of gross ignorance or of scandalous artifice. That ardent and sincere affection which

I bear

I bear you, and which I shall carry to the grave along with me, exacts this ad- Bolingbroke.
 monition from me; and the rather, because the knowledge I have of some part
 of what is doing; and the guess I make at the particulars, which I do not cer-
 tainly know, incline me to think, that I should not neglect a moment in so
 materiall an affair.

1784.

If other perfons speak another language, they have one of these two mo-
 tives; either the heatc of their temper or their ignorance of facts, make them
 deceive themselves first, and their friends afterwards; or else having nothing
 left to loose, and by consequence nothing to hazard, they imagine it very law-
 full and very politick, to expose as many as they can to the same situation as
 they are already in. Let me therefore conjure you on no account whatever,
 to enter into any measure, till by some means or other, we have contrived to
 meet, which I hope will not prove impracticable. Keep yourself till then ab-
 solutely independant of all engagements, and remember that the time will
 come, when you will own this advice to be the truest instance of friendship
 which I can ever give you. I am not yet able to prescribe you a very secure
 way of writing to me; assoort as I am, you shall hear again from me. I send
 you no news from these parts, publick papers communicate publick occur-
 rences; I will however mention two observations which I make, and which
 you will apply. The people who belong to St. Germains and Avignon, were
 never more sanguine in appearance; and yet the king of Sweden is oppres'd;
 and the regent will undoubtedly throw himself *à corps perdu* into the king of
 England's interest.

Adieu, you shall soon receive either a more particular letter, or see a mes-
 senger of your acquaintance from me. I embrace you, my dear Willey, and
 am for ever much more your's than my own. I answered your last letters:
 the same person that brought me your's, took care of my answer. What I
 write is only for you, and one or two of our bolome friends. The inference
 to be drawn from it, and the use to be made of it, ought to be as general, as
 your concerne for persons reaches. I give you this caution, the rather be-
 cause some things, which I writ over, and which were by no means proper to
 rebound back hither, did however do so. You will easily guess this not to be
 very proper, perhaps not very safe for me.

September the 17th, this letter comes to you sealed with an head, and
 will go under our friend Jemmy's cover.

LORD

Period III.
1720 to 1727.

LORD TOWNSHEND TO SECRETARY STANHOPE.

[Encloses the preceding letter.]

1724.

Information concerning the designs of the pretender, collected from lord Bolingbroke's private letter to sir William Wyndham, which was sent unsealed to the postmaster general.

SIR,

Hampton Court, September 15, 1726.

Townshend
Papers.Private.Drangt.

THREE posts being due from your side, I have none of your letters to acknowledge; but the occasion of my writing is to communicate to you, by his royal highness's command, some papers and advices relating to the designs of the pretender, in order to your laying them before the king. One of them is a letter from the person employed by his majesty to get intelligence at Paris, whose hand I make no doubt both the king and you will remember. It appears by what he writes, that the pretender is shortly to make some new attempt either on Scotland or England. But this advice is more fully confirmed by a letter from the late lord Bolingbroke to sir William Wyndham, which came to my hands yesterday morning, in a pretty extraordinary manner. He gave it unsealed to young Mr. Craggs at Paris, desiring him to send it open under cover to his father, the postmaster general, to whom it should be left to send it forward, or to suppress it, as he should think fit. Old Mr. Craggs immediately brought it to me, to know what should be done with it; I desired he would give me a copy of it, to lay before his royal highness, who presently determined, that it ought by all means to be sent on as directed. Bolingbroke seems to have had two views in writing it; first to deter his friend from having any share in an attempt, of the success of which he had so ill an opinion; and in the next place to give the government some sort of proof of his aversion to the measures now taking by the party. What is most remarkable in it (as you will see by the inclosed copy) is, that the pretender's design (whatever it be) appears to him to be in such forwardness, that knowing sir William Wyndham's zeal for that service, he thought not a moment was to be lost in advertising him, in order to keep him clear from engaging in it; and then, that he looks upon the regent as determined to throw himself à corps perdu into his majesty's interest. He observes, that the jacobites both at St. Germains and Avignon, never appeared so fanguine as at present; and the same is true with respect to the party in England, who, according to concurrent and unquestionable accounts from all parts of the kingdom, are strangely elated

elated with the expectation of some sudden attempt in their favour, in which Bolingbroke, they are confident of being supported by a body of foreign forces.
1724.

LORD BOLINGBROKE TO LORD TOWNSHEND.

Expresses his gratitude for past favours—and makes strong professions of attachment, if his restitution is completed.

MY LORD,

June 28, 1723.

YOU have laid the highest obligation upon me, in the handsomest and most generous manner, and I desire your lordship to be persuaded, you never laid any which made a deeper or more lasting impression. I shall do my best on this side of the water to lessen the force of any objections against what the king has done, and intends to do in my favour; and if my restitution can be compleated, your lordship may have more useful friends and servants; a more faithful one you cannot have, than I shall endeavour to approve myself. Mr. Walpole tells me, that I may give your lordship the trouble of delivering the two inclosed, which I beg of you to present to the king, and to the duchess of Kendal. I am, my lord, with all possible esteem and gratitude, &c.

Hardwick Papers.Copy.

LORD TOWNSHEND TO LORD BOLINGBROKE.

Delivers his letters to the king and duchess of Kendal.—Declares the king's intentions in his favour, to complete his restitution, if it can be carried in parliament.

MY LORD,

Pyrmont, July 9—20, 1723.

BY last post, I desired my brother Walpole to let your lordship know, that I had received the honour of your's of the 28th June, and had delivered the two enclosed to the king and the duchess of Kendall. But that as his majesty avoids reading as much as he can, during the time of drinking the waters, none of the letters were then returned to me. I have since received them from the king, and have his majesty's command to acquaint your lordship, that he was very glad to find you were returned safe into England. The king received very graciously the assurances your lordship gave in your letter, and as his majesty questions not in the least, but that your behaviour will every way answer his expectation, so your lordship may be satisfied of his majesty's good intentions to have what remains to be done in your favour perfectly finished according to your desire, which being a parliamentary affair, your lordship knows, that

Hardwick Papers.Copy.

Period III. that it does not entirely depend on the king; and that it must be managed with circumspection. I am likewise desired by the dutches of Kendall, to return

1720 to 1727.
1724. your lordship very many thanks for your letter to her, with assurances of her grace's particular regard for your lordship, and the success of your affairs. It was an extreme pleasure to me to see that your lordship was satisfied with the share I had in moving the king in your favour; I shall be always ready to contribute my utmost towards compleating what your lordship further expects; and I shall in all things that are in my power continue to shew your lordship with how much sincerity, and with how true an esteem, I am, &c.

LORD BOLINGBROKE TO LORD TOWNSHEND.

Returns thanks, and renews his professions of attachment.—Flatters himself that the obstructions to his restitution will be removed.

MY LORD,

Aix la Chapelle, Sept. 17, 1723.

Hardwicke
Papers.

Copy.

I Chose rather to let your lordship know, by Mr. Walpole, how sensibly I was affected by the letter you did me the honour to write me, while I was at London, than to give you immediately the trouble of another; but since my brother is going to Hanover, let the opportunity be my excuse, if I return you my thanks under my own hand, and write to you again, tho' I have nothing now to say. Mr. Walpole will have told your lordship, what his opinion concerning my situation was. I have conducted myself agreeably to it, and shall continue to do so.

There may be some, I think there will not be many, who will be angry notwithstanding all the precautions which can be taken; but surely their anger must have a very ill grace, when all other pretences being taken away, they can have no reason to assign against an act of mercy, which his majesty thinks fit to do, and the minister to advise, but their own private humour. After about a months stay at this place, I shall go back to Paris, and continue there or remove from thence, according to what lord Harcourt writes to me in concert with your lordship and Mr. Walpole. If the king's stay in Germany this year be as long as was apprehended when I left England, I must expect no decision in my affairs for several months, but whenever the parliament does meet, this decision will, I think, happen; whatever it will be, I shall prefer it to suspense. My brother will have the honor to present this letter to your lordship. Since he is related to me, he must be * * to you; and I hope

Illegible.

your

your lordship will look upon him as a servant on whom you may always depend. I have writ by him to my lady duchess of Kendall, from whom I have upon all occasions received the greatest civilities possible; and my lord Carteret having done me the honour of a letter some time ago, I thought it proper likewise to write to his lordship by him. Give me leave to depend on you, my lord, for making my most humble duty acceptable to the king. Whatever obstructions the spirit of party may still raise to my return home, his majesty shall have no where a subject more faithfully devoted to him than myself, nor your lordship a more obedient and more humble servant, &c.

1724.

LORD BOLINGBROKE, PROBABLY TO LORD HARcourt.

Character and disposition of the duke of Bourbon favourable to the English court.—Offers his own assistance to preserve that good disposition.—His solicitude to assist the ministry.

MY LORD,

Paris, December 17, 1723.

I Received on Sunday the 12th instant, the honour of your lordship's letter ^{Townshend Papers.} of the 27th of November, which our friend Brinsden brought me, and what came recommended by your lordship and Mr. Walpole, has been already ^{Decyphered by Brinsden.} executed, as far as is either necessary or proper att this time. You may depend upon it, that the duke of Bourbon is disposed just as you could wish that he should be. He has taken all the methods which the conjuncture required of expressing these dispositions; and, as he says himself, that degree of confidence, which words cannot create, must be left to time, and will be wrought up by a steady conduct. He has always past for a man of truth, and if my opinion can be of any weight, you will always find him so. There are, however, many things to be taken into consideration with respect to this court, which in my opinion, will require a more than ordinary attention, and this attention will, if I am not deceived, be much more necessary some time hence, than it is actually. I have spoken so freely and so fully upon all these heads to Mr. Walpole, that I may refer myself to what he has writ, and will, I suppose, in a few days say to you.

As to my part, my lord, I shall be extreamly glad on any occasion to contribute my mite to the king's service, and to help to cement a close correspondence between the two courts, whose true interest it is to be perfectly united.

Period III. But I must observe two things to your lordship, with my usual frankness:
1720 to 1727. One is, that to cultivate and improve this good disposition in general, which I
 1724. promise you not to neglect, as far as my power goes, and as opportunitys pre-
 sent themselves, is not a very important service, unless at the same time I am
 able to awaken it, and to help to apply it in particular cases, as they occur; for,
 my lord, you are not to apprehend, that this disposition will be directly com-
 bated by any one, but I would not answer that there may not be in time some
 endeavours to lull it asleep, or to divert it. Another thing, which I would ob-
 serve to your lordship, and which Mr. Walpole did yesterday very kindly
 observe to me, is this, that as long as I remain in the uncertain state in which
 I still am, it is impossible I should exert myself as I could wish to do in your
 service, without running too great a risque; I mean that of rendering my
 asyle less agreeable, and less secure, when I cannot depend upon having an
 home. This is all which seems necessary to be said att present upon the sub-
 ject. Brinsden will return to you very soon, and by him I shall not fail to
 write again. Let me desire your lordship to assure Mr. Walpole of my
 humble services. I will trouble neither him nor you at this time about my
 private affairs, but conclude with assuring you, that I am, my dear lord, most
 faithfully, your lordship's most obedient and most humble servant.

LORD BOLINGBROKE, PROBABLY TO LORD HAROURT.

Acknowledges his inclination to use his interest with the duke of Bourbon in promoting the harmony between France and England.—Views of the Spanish faction on the crown of France.—Duke of Bourbon inclined to oppose the attempts of the pretender.—States the delicacy of his own situation; and expresses a desire that he may be soon relieved from suspense.

MY LORD,

Paris, Dec. 23, 1723.

[Townshend Papers.] I Have writ very largely to Mr. Walpole: that letter will no doubt be shewn to your lordship, and I shall avoid repeating in this any thing which is said there. Your lordship will have seen by the letter, which I sent you soon after Brinsden's arrival, that I lost no time in executing what you desired of me, and in putting myself into a condition of doing the best service in my power. It is not only the interest of my king and my country, which I pursue in acting conformably to your desires, but it is the true interest likewise of a prince, whose friendship, he authorises me to use that expression, by the treatment he gives

gives me, I have been honoured with these many years. You may depend ^{Bolingbroke.}
 on his present intentions, they are perfectly agreeable to his declarations; but
 still I should speak contrary to my own judgement; I go further, my lord, I
 should speak contrary to my own knowledge, if I told you that the same de-
 gree of attention to the affairs of this country, which was sufficient in the late
 duke of Orleans's time, was sufficient now. A long regency, great success in
 his undertakings, many of which were hazardous, and such as Lewis the 14th
 would not have ventured upon; a confirm'd power in the government, and a
 confirm'd interest in the king, had made that prince superior to all caballs,
 and absolute master of the kingdom. I hope that the duke of Bourbon will be
 so in time, but time is necessary to that purpose, and your court may contribute
 to it, as you did, perhaps more than you imagined yourselves, to establish the
 authority of his predecessor. In the mean while, I presume to tell you, that
 for his sake (and he is now the center of the publick interest in this country)
 great attention is necessary on your part as ministers, and all the shew of personal
 friendship on the part of the king towards him. He is first in authority, tho'
 there is another prince* of the blood nearer to the crown. It were to be wish'd, * The duke
 that there was a better harmony between them; for their interest is the same, and
 of Orleans.
 their interest is the common interest of Europe; but the duke of Bourbon sees
 the necessity of their union; and his endeavours, joyn'd to the experience which
 the other will daily acquire, may, it is to be hop'd, by degrees ciment this union,
 which, I much doubt, there are many who would be glad to hinder. The
 notion of a Spanish faction, which would be glad to set the establishment of the
 succession aside, should the young king fail; and throw Europe into blood once
 more, is no imaginary, but a real and well grounded notion. The endeavours
 of this faction will be conceal'd with care, and disguised under various ap-
 pearances; and as attention will be necessary to keep them from deceiving others,
 so must attention be had to keep them from deceiving likewise those
 against whose interest they are immediately idrected. As it is reasonable that
 we should be watchful for the duke of Bourbon, so it is reasonable, that he
 should be watchful for us, least the friends of the pretender take any advantage
 on this turn of affairs, or least they take, as they are apt enough to do, en-
 couragement to intrigue, tho' they have no advantage to act. I have said this
 very thing to him, and he was as explicite and as strong in his answers to me
 upon the subject, as I could desire. I will only add, that if there are, or
 should come into power, any persons favourable to that interest, the duke of

MEMOIRS OF SIR ROBERT WALPOLE.

Period III. Bourbon is the only person capable of traversing the impressions they may be
1720 to 1727. ready to give, and the designs they may carry on.

1724.

Your lordship fees, that I obey your orders fully; they are agreeable to my inclinations, and have therefore a double weight. But I must own to you, that I shall be fearful to write by any other conveyance, as freely as I do by this; and I must suggest to you another consideration. Hitherto I have had but few friends, because I have liv'd in a very retir'd manner, and cultivated little besides my garden and my studys, but for the same reason I have had no enemys. The case will be soon alter'd, if I continue to keep in such a situation as may make me of real use to the publick interest. It is true indeed, that my endeavours will have no object but the general good of Europe, which in all these affairs is the particular interest of our king and of the duke of Bourbon; but, my lord, a proscrib'd man, who has no support besides his integrity, may be soon distress'd and caball'd out of his credit, perhaps with the very prince whom he endeavours to serve.

Is it not time that I should make a transition from my situation here to the state of my affairs in England? In a long conversation which I had the other day with Mr. Walpole, I think that the whole difficulty was reduc'd to this. In the present state of the court and of the party, should my restitution be attempted, there would be a small number of persons made angry in both houses. Others who appear'd for me, might underhand foment this anger, and excuse themselves, by urging that they were driven to comply, and lay the whole load upon Mr. Walpole, to the strengthening their own party credit, and to the weakening his. I have mention'd this, and I think answer'd it too in my letter to Mr. Walpole; and in truth, my lord, if there be no other reason against undertaking to finish my busines, I should hope that this reason will not determine against me. Let me conjure you, my lord, one way or other, to draw me out of suspence this winter. It is grown quite unsupportable to me; and it is the more so att this moment, because, if I am not after all to go home, I can settle myself in such a manner as will agreeable to me abroad. I am about to marry the marquise's* daughter to a young man of great quality in this country: I flatter myself, that I shall have the duke of Bourbon's affiance, in making this settlement; and if I thought that I should not be restor'd this winter, I own to your lordship, that I would att the same time take my

* Madame de Villette, niece to madame de Maintenon, whom he married after his first wife's death.

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measures to be myself a little better settled here, than I am att present. Once ^{Bolingbroke.}
more, my lord, I intreat you, that this winter may not pass over as so many
others have done. Let me be either restor'd, or told that it cannot be at-
tempted; in which case, I doubt not, but you will find the facility of doing
what is necessary to secure the estate I have, and that which would belong to
me, if my father should drop.

1724.

I have writ to my lord Townshend as well as to Mr. Walpole, and I
thought it proper to make a compliment in a few lines to Carteret, that he may
take no pretence of complaint from my behaviour. Adieu, my lord, no man
living is with greater truth or a warmer friendship your most obedient humble
servant. If you judg proper that I should take the liberty of writing to his
majesty att the opening of the parliament; and if you would have me write
any other letters, give me your orders and instructions. The first courier
shall carry my answer, and the execution of your lordship's commands.

LORD BOLINGBROKE TO LORD TOWNSHEND.

Requests him to solicit his restitution.—Professes his devotion to the king and the ministers.

MY LORD,

Paris, December 29, 1723.

YOU will see so much of my writing on this occasion, that it is but reason- ^{Townshend}
able I should save you the trouble of a long letter. Give me leave, ^{Papers.}
therefore, to refer you to what I have said to my lord Harcourt and to Mr. ^{Decyphered by}
Walpole. Your lordship has been pleas'd to express yourself with so much
frankness and generosity concerning my restitution, that I make no doubt of
your powerful assistance to bring it about att this conjuncture; and should it
fail now, I am persuaded that your lordship will not blame me, if I give over all
expectation of it. Since his majesty was first so good as to offer it me, I have
endeavoured to make myself not unworthy of it, and I am actually giving
you the best proofs in my power, that I have nothing more at heart than the
king's service, and the particular advantage of your lordship, and those who
are joyn'd with you. I am perswaded, that your lordship's brother-in-law,
who is now here, will do me this justice. Since my letters to my lord Har-
court, and to Mr. Walpole were writ, here has happen'd one of those very
things I was apprehensive of; it is of great moment, and gives great alarm to
all those who mean well to the present establishment in England and in France.

Some

MEMOIRS OF SIR ROBERT WALPOLE.

Period III. Some measures should be taken to prevent, if possible, more errors, for such
1720 to 1727. I will yet awhile believe them, from being committed. I think Mr. Walpole
 1724. cannot be instructed to speak too strongly and too plainly on this occasion; and in saying thus much to your lordship, I mean a service to the prince who governs here, as well as to his majesty, and to the common interest of Europe. I am, my lord, with respect and truth, your lordship's most obedient humble servant.

LORD BOLINGBROKE TO HORACE WALPOLE.

[Encloses a letter to lord Harcourt.]

Townshend Papers. (Tuesday evening.) I Have had company all day, and am a little out of order to night, so that I have not been able to write all the letters I intended. This to lord Harcourt, I desire you to send. I need not recommend to you, that it may go in your pacquet to lord Townshend. You know how much I ought to desire, that neither Schaub nor his patron may know any thing of my correspondence. Adieu, dear sir; I do assure you that I am, and that you shall always find me most faithfully your obedient humble servant.

LORD BOLINGBROKE TO LORD HAROURT.

Communicates some intelligence.—Desires his correspondence may be kept secret from Carteret and Schaub.

December 30, 1723.

Townshend Papers. PRAY tell my lord Harcourt from lord Bolingbroke, that although the letter writt according to the first appearances, and according to the ancient cha-
Decyphered by Brinsden. racter and present assurances of a certain person, yet in his letters to lord Har- court and to Mr. Walpole, as well as in the close of that to lord Townshend, enough is said to put them on their guard, besides which, the minutes Brinsden took, are plain. However, lord Bolingbroke has seen, since Brinsden went, new reasons to be alarm'd, and will therefore once more write his thoughts on so nice a subject. The feud between the two princes encreases daily; they who help to encrease it, use it to drive the ministry into the king of Spain's interest; the duke du Maine, who is undoubtedly in this interest, tho' uncle to the duke of Orleans, is well with the duke of Bourbon, and takes measures with him.

Lord

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Lord Bolingbroke wishes and hopes that his friend will not abandon his own Bolingbroke.
cause, because there is one whom he hates before him; but lord Bolingbroke
will not answer for it. It is certain, that long before lord Bolingbroke, or any
one else suspected it, and before the king of Spain could ask it, it was resolved
on for Spain; and it was as certain, that the late king of France would not
send him there ten years ago, because his character was too well known; in a
word, things have an ill aspect, great art must be employed, and great pains
taken to bring them right. Adicu. Brinsden will decypher this scrawl for
you.

1724.

Lord Bolingbroke recommends one thing particularly to you, and to Mr. Walpole, and lord Townshend, that lord Carteret may not have the least wind of this correspondence. It would come soon to the ears of Schaub, who is the tool of the women here, a coxcomb, and dangerous.

LORD BOLINGBROKE, PROBABLY TO LORD TOWNSHEND.

Without date or signature, but endorsed December 29, 1723, N.S. in Brinsden's hand-writing.

Prevalence of the Spanish faction in various instances.—Politic advice of lord Bolingbroke, with respect to Horace Walpole's interference in the affair of la Vrilliere's dukedom.—Lord Bolingbroke's restoration solicited.

IT is certain that the Spanish faction begins to be very busy, active, and fan-Townshend
guine. Frejus, beyond dispute, is in it, tho' not suspected by the duke of Bourbon. A strong proof of it, among others, is this, that when a certain person quoted the duke d'Angouleusme's case, as a precedent for settling the family of the present duke of Orleans, he objected to the precedent as a bad one, because the duke of Angouleusme was presumptive heir to the crown, and urged inadvertently enough, that to follow that precedent, would be to give umbrage to the court of Spain. This fact is fresh and true, it is unnecessary to make reflections upon it, his bigotry is very great, and his devotion to the court of Rome: hence the hopes which the jacobites have of good offices from him. The duke of Bourbon besides a confidence in his friendship, keeps measures with him, on account of his great influence over the young king. He is always present when the duke of Bourbon is with the king, and without the name of minister, has the power. Lord Bolingbroke spoke plainly on-

Period III. on this man's character, and on the jealousy which it may occasion very justly.

1720 to 1727. The duke of Bourbon promises, that he will be very watchfull to hinder him

1724. from doing any mischief, and the duke of Bourbon, certainly means what he says; but still there is danger from that quarter. Lord Bolingbroke apprehends that Mr. Walpole is not enough aware of this. Marshall de Villars is not at all to be reckon'd upon, vain and light, newly reconcil'd to the duke of Bourbon, very capable of any new and rash measures: the duke of Bourbon, between these two, may without a miracle be misled. He has been so undoubtedly in the choice of Tessé to go to Spain. This man is so avowedly in the Spanish faction, that he own'd to the late duke of Orleans, that should the king dye, he look'd on the king of Spain to be the rightfull heir, notwithstanding the treaties, renunciations, &c. Monteleon, his bosom friend, going back to Spain at the same time. All this joyn'd to the marshall's intimate relation to the court of Turin, may furnish matter of very disagreeable speculation. Lord Bolingbroke has spoke plainly on this subject, likewise to Mr. Walpole, who depends on the marshall's friendship, but will, it is to be hoped, be however on his guard. The duke of Bourbon having opened his heart to lord Bolingbroke upon la Vrillier's affair, and confess'd himself under the greatest difficulty imaginable; the king being violently sett against the thing, and the nobility clamorous. Lord Bolingbroke thought that he threw a very favourable opportunity into Mr. Walpole's hands, when he acquainted him with it. Had Mr. Walpole took the negociation from Schaub, he would have undeceiv'd the king, by shewing him that this business which had been represented to him as easy, was of the utmost difficulty. If att last the king insisted upon it, and it succeeded, Mr. Walpole would have had the merit. If it spun into length, and fail'd with the king's consent, Mr. Walpole laid the duke of Bourbon under the utmost obligation, in no case he run any risque. He was of another opinion, and declin'd talking with the duke of Bourbon upon it; lord Bolingbroke, however, represented it so to the duke of Bourbon, as not to let him perceive that Mr. Walpole did decline helping him on this occasion. There are several caballs forming, on which an attentive eye must be had; it would be too long to enter into particulars; use may be made of some of them to counterwork Frejus and the Spanish faction. It should have been added above, the present duke of Orleans has declar'd publickly, that he thinks himself obliged to justify his father, and to assure the nobility, that his father wold never have made M. de la Vrilliere a duke; this declaration puts

the

the duke of Bourbon under still greater difficulties. Schaub by false representations, has made the king go so far, that he can hardly go back, and it is certain, that the duke of Bourⁿb^on dares not go forwards. Madam de Platen might have found in this country many people who would have been proud to marry her, and against whose promotion to the dukedom there would have been no objection; for instance, if madam de la Vrilliere's brother was the man, instead of the son, he is of so great quality that nobody could complain; but Schaub, upon pretence of serving madam de Platen, has been making use of the king his master to serve la Vrilliere.

1724.

LORD BOLINGBROKE, PROBABLY TO LORD HAROURT.

Describes the situation of parties in France, in regard to the future succession of the crown.—Gives advice.

(January 12, 1724.) THIS is the second letter which I write to you, since Saunderson's [Brinsden's] departure, and that is more by two than I intended. The subjects on which you desire help and information, are too nice for one in circumstances as precarious as mine are: but Fletchville [Bolingbroke] sees so evidently the whole system of affairs exposed to new embroilments, that Stiff Dick [Bolingbroke] cannot forbear once more to send you an account of what he observes, and to state his opinion to you on the facts to be mentioned, and on a multitude of others, which would make too large a volume. You have thought perhaps that my former accounts have vary'd a little, and that Freeman [Bolingbroke] has fluctuated in his opinions, and you have thought right. Those who have seen things nearest, have seen the appearances vary almost every day, and have been ready to decide very differently, at different times. Those who are best informed, have often not known what to think. And those who are least inform'd, have continu'd to judge as their favourable or unfavourable opinion of the duke of Bourbon leads them. The duke of Bourbon has a plain interest, he says, he sees it; and no longer ago than Saturday, he expres'd, talking with Frampton [Bolingbroke,] a good deal of resentment, that he should be suspected of views repugnant to it. The party for the succession, according to treatys, is con-

Townshend
Papers.

In cypher.*

* This letter being mostly written in cypher, and there being no key, the meaning has been explained, partly by comparing it with the other decyphered letters, and partly from conjecture.

MEMOIRS OF SIR ROBERT WALPOLE.

Period III. siderable, and the whole body of the people will fall in with this side, unless
1720 to 1727. the princes give up or spoil their own cause; for Ellis [the king of Spain] is
1724. despis'd, and the Italian faction dreaded here. In this light, every thing ap-
 pears well.

But turn the tables, F. [Frejus] has an influence over Dunch [the young king] which the duke of Bourbon is forc'd at present to submit to, and of which, perhaps, he did not att first see the consequence; but I hope, and believe he begins to be jealous of it. He has great confidence in V. [probably Villars] and T. [probably Tessé]. Now these persons are indisputably in with Epsom [king of Spain]. The first is timorous; the second ready to change as his interest turns; the third imprudent to the last degree, tho' form'd to all the little artifice of o1; and in Freeman's [Bolingbroke's] opinion, capable of going farther than the others, and faster too. There are feveral dependants of some, or all of these, who are deep in the same project. One club of the richest and ablest men in Clermont [France,] and who have at this time great authority in the revenue, are closely united to V. [Villars,] intimate with the duke of Bourbon's mistress, and extreamly trusted by him. These have been a good while in correspondence with o2 [probably king of Spain] by Cadis and St. Malo. Stiff Dick [Bolingbroke] speaks positively, for the information comes to him thro' the same channel, thro' which the late duke of Orleans had his. The effects of which information would have been seen, with respect to this junto, if he had liv'd longer. Add to all this, that the duke of Bourbon's mistress is attached to him by no inclination, and is at once the most corrupt and ambitious jade alive. In this light, every thing appears ill; so ill, that several people do not hesitate to think the duke of Bourbon determin'd against his true interest. Franklyn's [Bolingbroke's] present opinion, is different from this. Stiff Dick [Bolingbroke] believes, that his proximity to the crown, makes a great impression on him; that he has been very sincere in most of the general professions to Franks [Bolingbroke]. But stiff Dick [Bolingbroke] thinks likewise, that the bitter hatred of the duke of Orleans, has made a mighty impression on his mind. I see his fear on this head, thro' all the care he takes to hide it. Suspicion, therefore, go thus far, that he hearkens to those who flatter him with hopes of great support and great advantage from Ewers [king of Spain]; that he goes some lengths with these people, but that he does not design to go all the lengths which he sees, nor sees all which the others intend to lead him; here is the
 very

ORIGINAL CORRESPONDENCE.

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very point of danger. The first and principal means of warding it, is a reconciliation between the princes, which numbers are watchful to prevent; which is certainly difficult; but which is certainly not impracticable. Stiff Dick [Bolingbroke] has neglected nothing which he durst venture towards it. Freeman [Bolingbroke] came from Versailles on Saturday, fully persuaded that this point was secure. He gave Child's [Mr. Walpole's] brother notice of it in confidence. Since that time, he finds it grown uncertain, and will soon know from what cause this alteration proceeds. The duchess dowager of Orleans was yesterday in the same sentiments as last week, and answer'd for her son.

1724.

By this imperfect sketch, joyn'd to what has been said before, you will form some notion of the present state of things. And you will be my witness, that I am not backward to serve the king, my country, my friends, * * * minister, * The cypher unintelligible and I may add those of Clermont [France] particularly; the duke of Bourbon, whose true interest I am heartily sollicitous for, as well as the public peace and tranquillity. You must not expect, I doubt, to see things come to a clearer and more certain state very soon; and the only resolution you can take att present, and which admits of no delay, is this; to attend to all that passes with more than ordinary care; to be informed even of the most secret motions of o1; and of all which the several cabals do there, or att Paris; to have in some measure the direction of those which pursue the same end; to speak plainly, and kindly, and strongly to the duke of Bourbon; to endeavour, above all things, to fix him in his true interest; to shew him, that he can want no support, when he is firmly united to Dormer [king of England], and to the duke of Orleans; to keep a secret correspondence with the duchess dowager of Orleans, and those who act for the duke, for he himself is young and raw. In short, to negociate perpetually, for give me leave to say, that if the union, Francis [Bolingbroke] lays so much weight upon, was made, and was never so cordial, yet you would be in the wrong to relax in your attention. You must look upon yourselves, in some measure, like careful tutours. The late duke of Orleans might be left alone to take care of himself, but the case is not in all respects the same now. Means there are enough, and every day will afford more; but it is impossible to descend into all those particulars. You will meet with much cunning, and little faith, but be assured, you have among the Clermont zacharies [French ministers] no great abilitys to apprehend. Remember these lights are for you, communicate them to none but Chivers

t t 2

[Walpole]

MEMOIRS OF SIR ROBERT WALPOLE.

Period III. [Walpole] and Harris [lord Townshend]. I have good reasons for giving you this caution. You will be sure to take your measures to watch T. [probably Tessé] as well as his friend, and my old acquaintance Monteleon. Nothing which Freeman [Bolingbroke] can do, has been or shall be neglected; but he thinks it will not be convenient to write any more in this manner. You are on your guard, that is enough. Adieu. Francis [Bolingbroke] will not doubt but he shall find on your side of the water, the same cordiality and the same zeal which he thinks he has evidently shewn.

Since this letter was writ, I have recollect'd a thing, which may seem but a trifle, but which I judge important enough to be added. Talking with young Chivers [Horace Walpole] and giving him about persons and things, the best information Frederick [Bolingbroke] could, mention was made of Torcy, Flemming [Bolingbroke] told nakedly and truly the pro and the con, and his own opinion to boot: he perceiv'd that Chester [Horace Walpole] was immediately jealous. This I tell you freely, Flemming [Bolingbroke] took a little unkindly, because he has acted a part which deserves confidence, not suspicion. If this man's being employed came in question, you may assure yourself that Franks [Bolingbroke] would speak as he did in the case of T. [probably Tessé] but surely it is of some service in speaking to a friend, to tell all one observes, that he may judge the better. I will speak of this to Chester [Walpole] myself; but in the mean while, I thought it proper to mention it to you, least some mistake should be received, and pass current by my silence. Adieu, if my letters are of any use to you, your brethren, and the publick, I am sufficiently paid; but I must desire you to excuse me, if I venture no more; since I may perhaps do Fretchville [Bolingbroke] more hurt than I can do you good, by meddling in busness, in which I have nothing to do, and to which I have no very proper call. I just now am inform'd again, that the reconciliation does not go so well forward, as I could wish. I am sorry for it, and will neglect nothing in my power.

FROM LORD BOLINGBROKE.

Without signature or address. Probably to his confidential secretary Brinsden.

Expresses his resolution to be grateful to those who assist in obtaining his restitution.

I Received

I Received your letter of the 13th of January by the courier. You seem Bolingbroke,
 very sanguine, and I take it for granted, that you have some reasons to be
 so, which are not explain'd. In the letter I have received from lord Har-
 court, I observe nothing positive, either for or against what we both wish. I
 do assure you, that you might very safely venture your life on the return
 which I shall make to such obligations as you mention. I have liv'd long
 enough to have worn out all engagements, except some few of private
 friendship, which I had contracted, and shall go back if I return to you,
 under none, but those of gratitude and friendship to the persons who
 bring me back. I am extremely glad that the trifle was so agreeably
 receiv'd. The person * who received it, has writ me the most obliging
 letter imaginable. As to S.t he is so insignificant a fellow, that it is a kind + Schaub.
 of mortification to imagine, that one must be on one's guard against him. I
 am so, perfectly; and he shall have no real occasion of complaint. What he
 may invent, I know not. I forgot to mention, that I believe Mr. Walpole is
 now convinc'd of what I hinted to him some time ago, as soon as the thing was
 done; which is, that the person + nam'd to be minister at the court of Eng- + De Buy.
 land is nam'd by the duke of Bourbon's whore, and her cabal, of which a
 principal member is Mons. de la Vrilliere.

1724.
 Townshend
 Papers.
Decyphered.

LORD BOLINGBROKE, PROBABLY TO LORD TOWNSHEND.

Without address or signature. In his own hand-writing, partly in cypher.

Complains of the opposition made to his restoration.—Hopes it will be obviated.—Acts in concert with Horace Walpole.—Speaks contemptibly of sir Luke Schaub.—Exculpates himself from the imputation of being friendly to the jacobite interest, and of having paid a visit to Atterbury.—Expresses his attachment to the king.

MY LORD,

I Was out of town, when I received the honour of your lordship's letter of Townshend
 the 14th of January, but am come back time enough to answer it by the Papers.
 courier, who goes away to day. I am not naturally prone to suspicion; and I Decyphered by
 should be extreamly to blame, if I entertain'd any of those who have kept Brinsford.
 their words with me; who have us'd all the frankness possible in their pro-

* Probably means the duchess of Kendal, to whom he sent some trifling present, and who was highly instrumental in his restitution.

ceeding

MEMOIRS OF SIR ROBERT WALPOLE.

Period III. ^{1720 to 1727.} ceding towards me, and of whose friendship I have received the strongest proofs. I do assure you, that I have not the least. Upon what your lordship

^{1724.} writes, I observe that the opposition which you lay any weight upon, is drawn into a very narrow compass. The torys will not, you think, declare against me, and I agree perfectly with your lordship, that if they take this resolution, it is for their own sake, not for mine. The whigs, who always oppose the court, and who will, for that reason, oppose my restitution, you seem to put likewise out of the case; and indeed since my restitution is not the cause of their opposition, this opposition ought not to be a reason, why your lordship does not make it one, against attempting my restitution. The only persons therefore, whose opposition deserves consideration, are those, who are friends to my friends, but have been hastily and unwarily drawn in by my enemys; or those, who apprehend I may be forming schemes against them, whenever I am restored. These persons, your lordship thinks, should be soften'd by the most gentle and prudent methods, in which opinion, I readily concur with you. These methods, your lordship hopes, will be attended with success, and it is inconceivable to my apprehension, that they should fail of it. Such of your friends as have been hastily and unwarily drawn off, will gradually, and upon reflection, come back to your sentiments; and for such of them as are only doubtful of the part I may act after my restitution, surely, my lord, they will be convinced, that my lord Townshend and Mr. Walpole are as much interested in that matter as themselves, and can judg better of it. Upon the whole matter, this affair is now brought to so short an issue in the most favourable conjuncture possible, that I cannot but flatter myself it will be consummated; and that if it should, by some unforeseen miracle, fail at this time, I shall be sufficiently justify'd to my family, and to my friends, for taking the resolution of expecting it at no other.

I am glad that my letters have been received, and that they are taken as I meant them. I have made my compliments to Mr. Walpole,* with great sincerity upon his nomination. He will, I am persuaded, receive them with the more satisfaction; because I am sure, that I have neglected no one thing in my power, which might be useful or agreeable to him. No part of my conduct shall give any man occasion to say, that I act in concert with Mr. Walpole, and by order from your court. But I cannot answer that in a place, where people are very alert, some jealousy of that sort may not be entertain'd, when they perceive me to live in intimacy with him. As to S. [Schaub] he is such a

* He means Horace Walpole, on being appointed envoy extraordinary.

whiffling mean fellow, that I own to your lordship, whatever importance he ^{Bolingbroke.}
may be thought to be of, ~~he~~ can inspire me with nothing but contempt. As
to the marriage, how far it may be practicable at present, to obtain the dutchy,
should the duke of Bourbon in earnest desire it, I know not; but this I know,
that I have acted no otherwise than in one of my former letters I explain'd,
and that I meddle neither directly nor indirectly in it, which I desire your
lordship on my word to affirm, if there be the least reason to do so.

1724.

There remains, I think, nothing but the postscript of your lordship's letter
to be answer'd, in which you ask me, what you may most truly say, should
you ever hear again so idle a charge as that which you mention. You may
say, my lord, that it is a most impudent groundless lye, that he, whoever he
is, that advances it, cannot be more averse to the jacobite interest than I am;
and that there is not a man under the sun, whom I have less reason to trust, or
more to complain of, than the late bishop of Rochester. I went last autumn
to the waters of Aix by Namur, from Mons, but the road being excessively
bad for a coach, I came at my return by Brussels. Was I to go again, I
should take the same road, without supposing that I should be suspected, after
all which has pass'd, on such a silly foundation; and any other foundation than
this, no man living will, I am sure, be hardy enough to say that he has. Once
for all, my lord, be pleas'd to depend on what I formerly told you. The hopes
of returning home, or the fear of continuing abroad, have never had the least
influence on my conduct, with respect to the part I have openly and avowedly
taken these seven years; and in which I should continue, were it as much for
my private interest to be attached to the pretender, as it is to be attached to
the king. I am, my dear lord, your most faithful and most obedient
servant.

(Feb. 3, 1724.) I Have concluded a marriage for the marchioness's*
daughter, on which occasion, monsieur le Duc has been so good as to procure
several very great advantages to the young couple. The marchioness has
given up all her pensions in part of her daughter's portion. I thought this
effect very proper to be dispos'd of, since it could be so with advantage. I be-
lieve your lordship will be of my opinion.

You have had, without doubt, a courier from Mr. Stanhope long ago, and
your lordship has observ'd, that the whole junto are Spaniards, except Leide.

* He alludes to the daughter of lady Bolingbroke, by her former husband the marquis de la Villette.

There

Period III. There is not a man of common sense, except the inquisitor general, who has parts, and D. Miguel da Guerra, who, besides his parts, has great knowledge.

1720 to 1727. 1724. I have hesitated some time, whether I should mention to you a thing, which is in my opinion, of great moment; but which I have no call to meddle in, and may therefore seem officious by doing so. I will, however, mention it, for I had rather run the risque of a ridicule, than that of neglecting any thing useful to the king's service, and to the service of my friends who serve him. The present king* of Spain will be certainly as much an humble servant to his wife, as his predecessor was to his. Your lordship easily imagines, that this consideration has been entertained by the dutchess dowager of Orleans. A thousand reasons concur to make her desire, in the present conjuncture, to cultivate and improve the influence she has always had on her daughter's mind, and which she has so far neglected, by an indolence too natural to her, that she has at this moment no body about the queen of Spain, whom she can trust. Lord Bolingbroke has been consulted in this affair; and he took the occasion of insinuating, that since none fit for such a trust could be sent from France, without giving suspicion, the best expedient would be to give the management of this affair to the minister of England, whenever such a one should be sent, as might be instructed in his passage thro' France. Your lordship sees at one view twenty advantages, which would with good management result to the king's service by this means. The expedient was so far from being dislik'd, that lord Bolingbroke was desir'd to give notice, when any person was sent from England to Spain, and to inform them, whether his character was such as might render it prudent to trust him in so nice a matter. Adieu.

LORD TOWNSHEND TO HORACE WALPOLE.

On the refusal of sir Matthew Decker to pay the money belonging to lady Bolingbroke.

Whitehall, April 2, 1724.

Walpole
Papers.

YOU will receive inclosed, a letter to my lord Bolingbroke, which comes from my lord Harcourt, to give him an account of the very bad reasons, I think, sir Matthew Decker gives for not paying a great sum of money he has in his hands of madame de Villette's, on pretence, that it is my lord Bolingbroke's, and that he may be made answerable for it by parliament. You will

* Louis by the abdication of his father Philip the Fifth.

please

please to give this letter to his lordship, and let him know I shall very readily Bolingbroke.
do him all the service I am able in this affair; my lord Harcourt is of opinion,
that madame de Villette shoud present a petition to Mons. le Duc,* and * ^{1724.} The duke
desire his interposition with his majesty in her behalf, and care should be
taken that only madame de Villette's name should appear in this money matter,
by which means the king may better insist on obliging sir Matthew to do justice,
and to repay the money, which he now, as I said, declines to do. I think your way should be to let lord Bolingbroke and madame de Villette manage this matter themselves with the duke of Bourbon, without your appearing in it, or saying any thing of it at first; till the duke shall speak to you himself, and then you may undertake to use your best offices, and promise all the assistance you are able to give for procuring justice to madame de Villette, on her petition. And of this you may give all the assurances you may think fit to my lord Bolingbroke, that as soon as the duke of Bourbon shall have spoken to you upon it, you will recommend the affair in the strongest terms; and that you make no question but that I shall promote it here with the greatest earnestness.

LORD BOLINGBROKE TO THE DUKE OF NEWCASTLE.

Thanks him for civilities shewn to lady Bolingbroke.—And declares that he will be satisfied with a partial restitution.

MY LORD,

October 24, 1724.

SINCE I have not only an opportunity, but a pretence of writing to your grace, you will, I am persuaded, give me your leave to do it, that I may at least return you my thanks for those marks of your friendship which you have given me, and for my share in the obligations which your civilities have laid on the person* who delivers this letter to you. I shall wait with a perfect confidence the effect of those promises which have been made me this summer, and shall receive it with a due sense of the king's goodness, and of the friendship of his ministers. If these promises are short of those offers which were made me several years ago, it will be however an entire satisfaction to me, that this difference must arise from the temper of party, and from the circumstances of affairs, since no man will, I am sure, affirm that it arises in any degree from my conduct. Do me the justice, my lord, to be persuaded,

Hardwicks
Papers.Copy.

* His wife, madame de Villette.

Period III. that I am with much truth, your grace's most humble and most obedient
1720 to 1727. servant.

1724.

LADY BOLINGBROKE, AS MADAME DE VILLETTÉ, TO LORD
 TOWNSHEND.

[Without date, but written in 1724.]

Thanks him for his civilities, and expects the fulfilment of the promises for lord Bolingbroke's return.

Townshend Papers. LE jeudy. Les raisons qui me privent, my lord, de l'honneur de vous voir avant mon depart m'affligen et m'inquiettent. Je souhaite de tout mon cœur que vôtre indisposition n'ait point de suite. Si vous jugés à propos de vous servir du remede que j'ai fait venir à Mr. de Walpole, et dont tant de gens se trouvent bien chez nous jc vous en enverray. Je n'ai pu faire finir ma consignation qu'a midy. Je pars dans le moment comblée de vos politesses et de celles de Mr. de Walpole; mais je compte sur quelque chose de plus solide qui sont vos paroles et l'honneur de vôtre amitié dont je vous demande à l'un et à l'autrè la continuation. Je vous supplie d'estre bien persuadés de mon sincere attachment à vos interest et de celuy de mon ami, et de me croire aussy parfaitement, que je le suis, milord, votre très humble et très obissante servante.

LORD BOLINGBROKE TO SIR WILLIAM WYNDHAM.

Sends this letter by his wife, madame de Villette.—Expresses uneasiness at his own uncertain situation.

May 22, 1724.

Egremont Papers. THE marquise will acquaint you, my dear friend, with the particular reasons of her journey, but I cannot let her go without saying something myself in general, both concerning her journey, and my present state. You know how many years I have been led on by promises, since the first offers of returning home, were made me in the king's name, and you must be sensible how insupportable long suspence must be to a man who is prepared for any thing certain, and determined. Among other inconveniencys, which have attended this strange situation, it has been none of the least that the small fortune whick I had sav'd and acquir'd abroad, has been exposed to abundance of dimunitions and losses, which were inevitable, and must continue so as long

long as I continue unable to take any permanent measure, and live upon expedients form'd in the two different and incompatible views of staying abroad, and of returning home. In short, neither my mind nor my purse can bear to remain any longer in this condition; and I should be much happyer and much richer, if I had four years ago lay'd aside all expectations of a restitution. The only consideration which kept me from it then, was the consideration of what I ow'd to my family, and much more of what I ow'd to my friends; — I hope that I am acquitted to both. I will certainly not shut the door against myself, nor renounce that claim which the king and his ministers have given me, and which has been fortified by the frankness and openness of my conduct. But I cannot live any longer in an inn. My health decays a great deal. I am perhaps come to the latter scenes of life: it would be ridiculous to pass them in a state of fruitless expectation, hardly to be justify'd during the first. I will assemble all the poor remnants of my shattered fortune, and content myself with such a settlement as they are sufficient to make me, be it what it will, and where it will.

I need not ask your friendship to the bearer of my letter. It is hard that she should be obliged to go in such a manner, and on such an errand into England, but to people tir'd with suspense, the prospect of coming to a decided state sweetens every thing. She will appear just as she finds it necessary, on account of her money, which John Drummond put and kept unjustifiably in that rascal Decker's hands. If it is not yet pay'd, she is madame de Villette, and has nothing to do with my affairs, but comes about her own, for surely any dissimulation is allowable to get out of the hands of robbers and assassins. There is nothing in the world I should be so glad of as to see you, and I will hope, that some how or other that may be contriv'd. Pray embrace lord Bathurst for me, and desire him to continue me that friendship which on my part shall last as long as I last. I desire to make my compliments to lord Gore, whom I have not the honour to know much, but whose character I respect extremely. To our common friends be pleas'd to be my plenipotentiary.

LORD BOLINGBROKE TO SIR WILLIAM WYNDHAM.

Expresses his affection for a few friends.

February 6, 1725.

I Am sorry for the alarm which my late indisposition has given, and I am at the same time flatter'd by it. The truth is, that the frequent returns of the

Egremont
Papers.

MEMOIRS OF SIR ROBERT WALPOLE.

Period III. feavour, and the perpetual disorder which dwelt in my stomach, had worn me
1720 to 1727. quite down, and exhausted all my spirits; but the marquise, who knows that I never disguise any thing to her, not even those things which may be disagreeable, ought to have moderated her own alarm, and yours, by what I writ att the end of the same letter as acquainted her with my illness. 'God be prais'd, I am very much better. Not only my feavour seems effectually cur'd, but my stomach begins to be re-establish'd, and I am in hopes that my life will become worth wearing some time longer. It is not necessary to live, but it is so necessary to live agreeably, that I do not well conceive how any one can resolve to live otherwise, unless he be chained down to life by the sentiments of his heart, and the force of friendship. For my own part, there is nothing else which makes existing desirable to me, and if the marquise and one or two friends did not attach me to life, I should soon grow tir'd of the world as one grows tir'd of bad company, and wish to be out of it. These are not the thoughts of a melancholy man, my dear friend, but of a reasonable man, of one who has been taught by time and reflection to see things as they are, and to rate them according to their true value. I wish with all my heart that the act which is to pass in my favour may be soon brought on, and I suppose that it will be so. But I know too well the necessity of timing things in parliament, to be surpriz'd or concern'd att some delay. The state you describe of people who expect they know not what, who are ready to be angry, they know not why, and eager to act, tho' they have neither plan nor concert, is a state which I have been several times a witness of. In a government like our's, not only the stronger passions, but every little humour, has force enough to ruffle the face of public affairs. All which an honest and sensible man can do, is to steer on with calmnes, and to guide himself with the reason of things, whilst the herd of mankind are deliver'd over to their passions.

LORD BOLINGBROKE TO SIR WILLIAM WYNDHAM.

Egremont
Papers.

(Jan. 30, 1725.) IT is very true, my dear friend, that I do not desire health, more earnestly than I desire to be delivered from suspence, and enabled some where or other to enjoy that quiet, which is the only object I propose to myself for the rest of my life. The second part of your session is now begun; and I hear that your house is like to be very full; tho' I do not hear of any business you have which deserves much vivacity. That which relates to me, cannot surely create any.

LORD

LORD, BOLINGBROKE TO SIR WILLIAM WYNDHAM.

Bolingbroke.

Entertained hopes of a complete restoration during the life of George I.—Relinquished those hopes on his death.—Is determined to retire from the world, and to live principally in France.—Motives for so doing.

MY DEAR SIR WILLIAM,

Paris, Nov. 29, 1735.

YOU think too reasonably yourself, to be surprized, that a man who makes use of his reason, who is almost threescore, and who has passed ten such years as I have lately passed, should begin to consider how it becomes his character, his temper, his fortune, and his circumstances, to conduct the last act of his life, and to wind up the whole piece. I have thought very seriously, and very much att leisure, on this subject, since I left England; and I take the opportunity of Mr. Chetwynd's return thither, to communicate these thoughts, and the result of them, my resolutions, to you, with an entire assurance that you will approve the one, and assist me in executing the other. Whilst the late king lived, I had a just claim, and a fair prospect, grounded on his promises, and on the conjuncture, so that I might, and did expect to compleat my restoration, and I settled accordingly amongst you. Since his death, I have entertained no such expectation, nor have, in truth any very warm desire of that kind. Give me leave to assume upon this particular occasion, since the fact is true, what I should not assume perhaps on another, tho' the fact were equally true; whether I have done well or ill, whether I have acted amongst you to any purpose or to none, I have acted with as little regard to personal interest as any man ever did. They who believe so will do me justice, and this justice is all I ask of them. The same public spirit, and private friendship would carry me still on, if your circumstances were still the same, or if any new means of being useful to you were in my power. You are grown to be a formidable minority within doors, and you have a great majority without. I am still the same proscribed man, surrounded with difficultys, exposed to mortifications, and unable to take any share in the service, but that which I have taken hitherto, and which, I think, you would not perswade me to continue to take in the present state of things. My part is over, and he who remains on the stage after his part is over, deserves to be hissed off.

These reflections have led me naturally to the resolution of retiring from the business of the world absolutely, and from the world itself much more than I have done hitherto. This resolution is the more easy for me to take, because

it

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MEMOIRS OF SIR ROBERT WALPOLE.

Period III. it suits my temper as well as my circumstances, and is necessary in the sole
1720 to 1727. views of busines or amuzement, which I set before me, and design to pursue
during the remainder of my life. Since I resolve to retire in this manner, it
is of little consequence to my friends, whether I fix my retreat at hor~~e~~, or
in this country. Whenever they have any real want of me, which is a case
not likely to happen, I shall obey their summons, as long as I live, and enjoy
a competent share of health; for which reason, tho' I settle no longer in
England, I will not settle any where else, nor be any thing in France but an
inhabitant of the world. The reasons that determine me to continue here att
present, and the state of things that takes off all prudential objections to my
continuance here now, will be the same in all probability for some years; and
a very few years more may possibly compleat the term of my life, att least
they will carry me to a point of age at which it is quite indifferent where one
ends it. In this light, you see, that the establishment I had almost compleated
before the late king's death at Dawley, becomes useles to me. Tho' none
of the favourable contingencys that might have happened, did happen whilst
I was in England, but on the contrary, even such crofs events as I had no
reason to apprehend; yet I might be tempted perhaps to keep a place where I
have lay'd out so much to improve the habitation and the estate, if I remained
fixed in England.

My enemys cannot say I am afraid of them, nor my friends, that I decline
their service. If I part with mankind, I hope that I part fairly with them.
As to myself, I have done all that I could do for my own service, in the great
point of view, *that, I mean, of being restored, whilst the late king lived, and this
point of view continued open to me.* Since that time, I have acted a part that
I should not have acted, unless I had been sure of myself; sure that I could
live out of the world with great satisfaction, whenever it became impossible
for me to live in it with dignity. Adieu, my dear sir William, I have nothing
more to add but my sincere wishes for the happiness of you and yours. It
would be to wrong our friendship, if I said any thing more to pres^t you to
assist me in forming this new scene of life. The importance of it to me, will
be motive enough to you. Embrace for me our common, and dear friend
Bathurst, who will be your fellow labourer in this, as he is in affairs of much
greater consequence.

LORD BOLINGBROKE TO SIR WILLIAM WYNDHAM.

Bolingbroke.

Remarks on the general satisfaction from the project of peace.—Censures the frequent armaments and guaranties.—His motives for retiring from the world, and residing in France.—All hopes of his restoration, which George the first had solemnly promised, at an end.—Proposes to justify the duke of Marlborough in many instances.—Where he thinks him justifiable.—Desires to receive documents from the duchess.—Applauds the conduct of his friend.

Chantelou, Jan. 5, 1736.

I Send this letter to Paris, that it may be conveyed to you, my dear sir William, either by your son, or by my brother-in-law; by the first of them who goes to London, for there you are, I suppose, by this time. It is true that I writ a very long letter to you some months ago, in expectation of having an opportunity of sending it safely to your hands att that time. But that expectation failed me, and I burnt the letter, for it was not one of those one chuses to keep by one. Much of what I said concerning private characters, and publick affairs, Mr. Chetwynd is able to inform you of. This alone I will say here, that if our friend lord Stair was on this side of the water, he would cease to apprehend the exorbitant power of France, and the exorbitant use like to be made of other real power. The project of peace, for it is not yet quite a treaty, gives great satisfaction, no doubt, to those who apprehended the war might grow more general. What merit is assumed upon this occasion where you are, I know not; but I know, that things would have gone much as they have gone, if Horace Walpole had remained att home, and the nation had spent some millions less. If your shew of arming has had any effect, it has been where it became us least to interpose, as Britons, as freemen, and in short as a people who have given a right or pretence to foreign nations of intermeddling in our domestick affairs, by asking and accepting their guarantys of our protestant succession. Whatever new partition is made of the contested countrys, it will last no longer than till an opportunity offers to one side or other, of breaking it: for none of these systems of cure go to the bottom of the wound. And on the same principles of policy, on which we have acted for many years past, we must arm whenever a new squabble arises; so that the frugality, which the state of our debts and revenues require, can never take place, nor the true advantages that the situation of Britain gives her, be improved.

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Papers.

What

MEMOIRS OF SIR ROBERT WALPOLE.

Period III. What I mean by this is, that he who will judg rightly of the conduct of affairs, must not judg of this or that particular part alone, but must consider the general principle on which our conduct proceeds, and what the effects of it have been, and will be. But I stop here, and had rather leave my meaning a little obscure, than run into reasonings which I endeavour every day to forget. It is time I should forget them.

By the letter which Mr. Chetwynd has given you from me before this time, and by what he has said to you in consequence of the discourse he and I had att our parting, you are enough informed, my dear sir William, of the resolution I have taken concerning the scheme of my future life. I am confident you approve it. You would be sorry, I am sure, if I wanted the courage to say to myself, thy part in public life is over. Let me depend on you and Bathurst for enabling me to live like a cosmopolite the rest of my days. For this purpose, you must dispose of Dawley for me. Were my father likely to dye, this measure would be prudent, and since he is likely to live, it is necessary. To what purpose should I keep an expensive retreat, where in all probability I shall never retire? in one fence, and no improper one, it may be said, that I have no excuse for chusing to be att home, except two, an opportunity of being useful to my friends and my country, *or the means of compleating that restoration, by frequent, solemn, and unsolicited promises of which, the late king drew me into England.* The opportunity is over, the means are not in my power, and in the present state of things, the end is no longer desirable. Upon this head, I hope to have soon your answer. Chavigny will convey it safely to du Nocquet, and du Nocquet must be directed to send it under cover to the marquis of Matignon. In things of this kind, the canal of Chavigny is not improper, for he is a friendly man. Whilst I was att home, I served for an alarm to the whigs, and they were threatened with my coming into power. It is to be presumed, this cant is out of date. But if any thing of that kind is said, or any opportunity offered to you, or to any other of my friends, of making such an answer, I desire the answer may be, that I neither expect nor desire power, and as to my being restored, I am perfectly indifferent. That the service of my friends, and of my country, to whom I thought I was of some use, kept me in England from the time of the late king's death, that having done all I could do for both, I think myself att liberty to live where I amuse myself the most, and enjoy the greatest ease. Whilst I am abroad, it will be said, perhaps, either that I feared to continue att home, or that I am doing mischief

mischief here. If either of these two things are so much as insinuated, give Bolingbroke. me leave to say, that I expect from your friendship, that you should treat them with the contempt they deserve, and answer from me, that I will be in London as fast as post horses can carry me, and the winds permit, after I receive notice, that any man has an accusation to lay to my charge. You mentioned to me, in one of your letters this summer, my lord Hardwicke. Let me desire you, whenever a fair and unaffected opportunity offers, to present my humble service to him; and to assure him that, wherever I live, I shall preserve for him as long as I live, a great esteem, and a most inviolable friendship. Adieu, my old and dear friend, I embrace you with the utmost tenderness.

It comes to my mind, to mention to you a thing, which you will take notice of or not, as you shall judge proper. I let fall to Pulteney more than once, that in several publick relations, and in others that I have seen, some parts of my late lord Marlborough's conduct in the operations of the war are censured, and I believe unjustly; the expedition to the Moselle in 1705, the inactivity of 1707, and others. In whatever I write that is historical, I will be neither apologist, panegyrist, nor satirist; and besides, I shall touch very lightly marches, battles, sieges, encampments, and that inferior detail of history, for such I think it. But yet I should be glad to do justice to my late lord Marlborough, where I can do it with truth on my side. If therefore, her grace, his widow, thinks fame of any concernment, I will make an honest use of any materials she may give me, for clearing up the truth in those parts, where it has been most disguised, or is least known. I leave her free liberty to do as she pleases, but she ought to take it well, if I give her the hint.

I say nothing to you of your winter campaign. I suppose it will pass in making compliments, and giving money. However it passes, I am sure that your share in it, will be that of an honest and a wise man, and that if you cannot do much good, you will prevent at least some evil. You have contributed signaliy to unmask the knave, and to expose the fool, in a country almost overrun by the two, and almost tainted to the vitals with corruption. You must proceed in the same honest cause: the good you have done, puts it into your power to do more and greater; and the reputation you have acquired, ought to be esteemed by you, a motive to future, as well as a reward to past merit. As to myself, for the transition from you to me, is made natural

MEMOIRS OF SIR ROBERT WALPOLE.

Period III. by our union and intimacy; if I have not encreased the number, I suppose that
1720 to 1727. I have exasperated the malice of my enemys during my stay in England, and
 by the part I acted there. As to my friends, I do not suppose that I have
 encreased their number, or warmed their affection. 'Tis a common case; our
 enemys look backwards, as well as forwards, and put both to account. Our
 friends seldom look backwards, always forwards; and what we call gratitude is
 generally expectation. But be this as it will, I fear nothing from those I have
 opposed; I ask nothing from those I have served. If you hinder the conse-
 quences of the revolution, from destroying that constitution, which the revolu-
 tion was meant to improve, and perpetuate; I shall end my days in the obscurity
 of retreat, with far greater satisfaction, than the splendour of the world ever
 gave me, as busy as I have appeared in it, and as fond as I have been of it.
 I grow every hour more indifferent to life, and to the common concerns of
 life. It is fit, that he who approaches the usual term of life, should do so.
 But this indifference will never affect my sentiments for the publick, nor
 those of private friendship. As long as my heart continues to beat, it will
 beat warmly for Great Britain, and for you. Once more, dear friend, adieu.
 My best respects to all yours.

LORD BOLINGBROKE TO SIR WILLIAM WYNDHAM.

Advices temperance.—Speaks of his own state of health.—Want of sleep, and occasional dejection of spirits.—Virulently abuses sir Robert Walpole.—Asserts that the sudden death of George the First prevented his disgrace.—Forms and supports the party in opposition.—Considers corruption as more dangerous than prerogative.—Condemns the Walpoles.—But approves the peace.—Consequences of the system established at the peace of Utrecht, and of introducing the Spaniards into Italy.

Feb. 20, 1736.

Egremont
Papers.

I Thank you very kindly, sir William, for your's of the 23d of January; and
 rejoice to hear, what Charles has since confirmed to me, that your tedious
 fit of the gout is over. The disorders you complained of in the summer, were
 forerunners of it, or perhaps indications that you wanted it. Strange con-
 dition of humanity! our greatest evils, physical, as well as moral, are to be
 cured mostly by other evils; options are often continued to evils, and all that
 the wisest, nay the happyest man, has to do in many cases, is to change, if he
 can,

can, the greatest into the least, the longest into the shortest. I have no gout, Bolingbroke, but I have frequently interruptions of sleep, and great depressions of spirits. I relieve myself, when the first happen, by yielding to them, at whatever hour they take me; I rise, and read, or write, or walk about. I give full employment to this fluttering activity of the spirits. When I cannot have sleep as I would, I take it as I can; and like my brother animals, I recover by snatches in the day, what I lost in the night. They say, this method is unwholesome. But if it shortens life in one sense, it prolongs life in another, and a better. We lose time enough in sleep, but to lose any in endeavouring to sleep, is unnecessary profusion. As to the other evil you complained of, that lassitude and depression of spirits, temperance and even abstinence is the proper remedy, for our spirits flag by repletion. He who neglects this remedy, must purge often, or ride like the lord* of Cirencester. You and I use too little exercise; I will use more, and since I cannot go abroad to fetch a walk, I am resolved to turn-poacher, and have desired Charles to apply to you and to lord Gower to assist in tempting me into the woods. I remember that Cheyne, with a gallon of milk coffee, and five pounds of biscuit before him, at breakfast, declaimed to Pope and me, against the immorality of using exercise to promote an appetite. But a much better casuist, and a much better physician too, than Cheyne, even the aforesaid lord of Cirencester, prescribes exercise to prevent indigestion by the trituration of aliments, to maintain a due fluidity in the blood, and to promote the most sensible benefit of insensible perspiration. I could not help saying thus much about health, and the subject is not improper to be treated by one, who has passed the period att which the ancients placed the commencement of old age, these nine years, in writing to one that approaches that period very nearly.

You overrate by much, my friend, the merit of those sentiments you mention, and that have produced the resolution I communicated to you att Mr. Chetwynd's return into England. There is some courage of mind requisite, no doubt, to resolve to abandon one's friends and one's country, and a settlement just made. But you will give me leave to say, that there was at least as much necessary, to resolve to continue in my circumstances so long amongst you. Had the late king been pleased to leave me in my exile, instead of inviting me home, I had saved myself many years of trouble, and many articles of expence; I had enjoyed greater ease of life, and been a richer man. Had I stopped short even att his death, and taken the resolution I have now taken,

* Earl Ba-thurst.

Period III. I had certainly consulted my personal interest more, and saved a great deal
1720 to 1727. on both the heads of trouble and expence. But I know not whether I should have been so well satisfied with myself in either case. Tho' the late king durst not support me openly against his ministers, he would have plotted with me against them, and we should have served him, our country, and ourselves, by demolishing that power that is become tyranny in the paws of the greatest bear, and the greatest jackanapes upon earth. It is therefore a satisfaction to me, that I was not wanting to my friends, to my country, and to myself in a conjuncture, the advantages of which, were defeated by nothing but sudden death. When the present king came to the throne, I hesitated on the part I should act, I own it to you with sincerity, but I hesitated only for a moment. I saw the consequences of the event with respect to me. I saw that I should have many difficultys to encounter, more mortifications to bear, and among others, that of drudging in a lower form of busines than it became me to do, and being the common butt of the most foul mouth'd calumny. - But I was engaged, a party was formed, I had contributed to form it; and tho' I neither expected, nor desired (as many persons have heard me declare, whether they believed me or no) any favour, or benefit to myself, yet I thought it my duty not to decline the service of this party, in this cause, till the party itself either succeeded, or despaired of success. It is therefore a satisfaction to me, that I have fulfilled this duty, and I had my share in the last struggle that will be made, perhaps, to preserve a constitution which is almost destroyed, under pretence of mending or defending it. There are those that will laugh att the man, or deem him an hypocrite, who assigns such motives of conduct, could they have their reasons for such judgments. But you will not; and to you alone I will account for mine.

I know not whether you may judg as despondingly as I do, concerning the present state of our constitution. But be pleased to dwell in your thoughts one moment on these short and obvious reflexions. The corruption now employed, is att least as dangerous as the prerogative formerly employed. Against prerogative, the publick alarm, and the opposition of parliaments, were a real security. Against corruption, extended as it is, what real security remains? is the public alarm kept up? does the opposition in parliament prevail? but enough of this. I will trouble you no more with these melancholy reflexions on the state of our constitution; for our's it will be to me, under what government soever I live. In every other respect, be assured that I enjoy

enjoy my soul in great serenity, and that no one of those circumstances, in Bolingbroke, which my enemys, I suppose, triumph, takes away in the least from the quiet of my mind, or the happyness of my life. I am sure you wish this to be so, and therefore I assure you, upon my honour, that it is strictly true.

Our ministers are certainly very lucky, and very privileged persons. When they intrigue themselves into distress; and negotiate publick affairs into greater confusion, far from being censured, they are assisted, and the whole strength and wealth of the nation layed forth to redeem every blunder that Horace commits, and to repair every cross accident which his brother did not foresee, in foreign affairs. When they are drawn out of these difficultys, by the skill, or something else of other men, the merit is ascribed to them, and they receive the reward. In the present conjuncture, I rejoice as much as it becomes me to do. I think the emperor luckily off, and in a better condition than he was. The publick tranquillity is restored. There is an appearance of preventing future quarrels by the guaranty of France to the pragmatick faction. But the old quarrel is, in my apprehension, as likely to produce new disorders as ever. Consider. By the treaty of Utrecht, the emperor had all the States contended for, except Sicily. Sicily was given to a prince, who had ambition enough, but not force enough, to light a new fire in Italy, that might spred to the rest of Europe; and the emperor, on many accounts, was unable to light this fire of himself, by attacking Sicily. His rival for the Spanish succession, who had ambition and force enough, was barred by the neutrality of Italy. On this foot, things might have been kept quiet in the same state; and if in time any new disposition of feudal estates in Italy, had been thought expedient, as I believe it would have been, the emperor might have had Sicily att last, the duke of Savoy might have been indemnifyed, and aggrandized, and no power let in to disturb the publick tranquillity. The partition of the dominions of Italy, must be deemed pretty indifferent, after all the changes that have been made, and consented to on all fides. But the great point for securing publick peace, was to keep the Spaniard out, to hinder the two rivals from tredding on the same continent; and that point was given up when the principle of the system of the Utrecht treaty was departed from, under pretence of consummating the peace, and of satisfying the unsatiable ambition of the queen of Spain. The emperor was dissatisfyed formerly that he had not Sicily. Do you imagine Spain better satisfyed now? The partition is varied, but the same seeds of discontent are sown, and there are now two rival powers established in the same

MEMOIRS OF SIR ROBERT WALPOLE.

Period III. same country. Is this worth all the blood that has been spilt, and all the
1720 to 1727. money that has been spent, and all the distraction that has been kept up, from the treaty of London of 1716, the triple and quadruple alliance inclusively?

To return to myself, and to private affairs. My resolution being taken, you see, that the sooner that part of it which you, and my other friends, are so kind as to execute, is executed, the better it will be for me, since I cannot be att my ease, till I am better settled abroad, and since I cannot be so settled, till I know what to reckon upon. I think it howevcr of great consequence, that the matter should be proceeded in, with the caution and secret I first desired. You will see what I writ lately to Mr. Corry, and you will combine the whole in your thoughts. I chuse the first plan, for the reasons mentioned att large in former letters. I only propose the second as necessary in the second place. In all events, that house must not be a charge to me, nor the profits of the estate be consumed in management. I thank you for making my compliments to lord Hardwicke. You will renew them as opportunity serves. He acted an affectionate part to me, and I shall always preserve the memory of it. By the message which lord Carteret delivered to the dutches of Marlborough, I have done what I judged right. If she is in earnest, in the answer she made, I shall hear from her. If she is not, I must do as well as I can, without her grace's assistance. Whenever Mr. Levefon comes into this country, he shall be sure of my best advice and assistance, and of this I desire you to assure my lord Gower, with my best compliments. All here salute you, and yours. My respects attend on my lady and Mrs. Wyndham. As this conveyance of letters thro' Mons. de Chavigny, and Mons. du Nocquet, is safe enough, you will let me hear from you at your leisure. Adieu, dear sir William, I am ever unalterably your's, whether in the world, or out of it. Pray be so good as to embrace Batt. for me; I wish I could have half his good fortune, that of selling dear. I shall buy land no more, no, not a burying place.

LORD BOLINGBROKE TO LORD CHANCELLOR HARDWICKE.

Returns thanks for his good will and friendship.—Accuses sir Robert Walpole of having obstructed the king's inclinations in his favour.

(Argeville,

(Argeville, October 30, 1742.) YOU was pleased to renew in so kind a Bolingbroke
 manner, when I was last in England, the marks of your friendship, that I think
 myself bound to take the first opportunity, I have had since my return to this
 country, to make my acknowledgements to your lordship. You shewed me
Hardwicke
Papers.
 good will and friendship, though I was a stranger to whom you owed nothing
 personally, whilst many, who owed me much, affected to shew me their dis-
 like and their enmity, because there was a mean merit acquired by doing so,
 and even as far back, as when *the favour of the late king could not protect me
 against the malice of his minister, nor secure me the full effect of his promises.*
 These are obligations, my lord, and such as I shall remember always. The
 life I now lead, the place I inhabite, and the company I see in it, furnish
 nothing, that can be of information or entertainment to your lordship; a great
 scene, and one wherein the greatest talents may be, and indeed require to be
 exercised, is opened. God grant, it may be closed by barring effectually a
 family ambition, which I apprehend that we revived, or encouraged at least, by
 the quadruple alliance, and have favoured too much ever since. I see dis-
 tinctly but one corner of this scene; and I believe your lordship will approve
 my silence ever about that.

LORD BOLINGBROKE TO LORD HARDWICKE.

Accuses sir Robert Walpole of meanness and treachery.

(Battersea, Nov. 12, 1744.) I Send you two volumes of the letters you Hardwicke
Papers.
 desire to see, of which a few are printed by Pope's direction. The second
 may give your lordship possibly some satisfaction. The first, I fear, is fitter
 for a young man, who begins his studyes, than for your perusal. With
 them your lordship will find some addresed to Pope, on metaphysical or
 rather antimetaphysical matters. The letter writ to Wyndham I found, and
 I send it; and with it two others: one was writ to lord Stair, on what he
 communicated to me from lord Sunderland. His lordship took so little care
 of it, notwithstanding the caution given him in it, that falling behind his scru-
 tore, it was found by M. de Mezieres, in whose house he had lived, and
 printed as you see it, for reasons obvious enough. *There is likewise a draught
 of that which I sent to the late king, in 1725, soon after he had brought me into
 this country. What I press'd for then, and do not even desire now, your lordship
 may think perhaps, was not ill supported. At least you will see, how mean and
 trea-*

*Period III. treacherous a part the minister in power acted under the mask of good will. I
1720 to 1727. trouble you no further. I only ask your indulgence, to which I have this
 claim, that I obey your commands, and that I shew myself naked, as it were,
 to you. I wish to hear, that a spirit of conciliation has operated, such ^{as} our
 prelent distress requires. I am, my lord, with true respect, &c.*

It may be proper to say, by way of postscript, that tho' some things in the letters to Pope, may appear heterodox, they will be more so, relatively to theology, which I do not much esteem, than to evangelical religion, which I respect as I ought. Many inaccuracies must be excused, since they were never corrected, nor read by me, since the first heat in which they were writ.

*Etoouch's minutes of a conversation with sir Robert Walpole, on the attempt of
 lord Bolingbroke and the duchess of Kendal to obtain his dismission in 1727.*

*Etoouch
 Papers.*

(September 13, 1737.) I Had an opportunity for full conversation with sir Robert Walpole. I mentioned then to him, Bolingbroke's reports, of his often attending the late king at supper, and of his interest being so prevailing, that it was with the utmost importunity and address, he persuaded the king to defer the making him prime minister, till he returned from Hanover. He condescended to give me this explanation. He said lying was so natural to St. John, that it was impossible for him to keep within the bounds of truth. He might truly boast of his prospects, for they were very great; tho' things were not so fixed and near as he pretended. He had the entire interest of the duchess of Kendal, and having this, what consequences time would probably have produced, required no explanation. St. John, he averred, had only been once with the king, which was owing to his importunity.

The king had given sir Robert a memorial of St. John's, consisting of three sheets of paper. He observed the cover was not sealed, and therefore the deliverer of it must certainly know from whence it came, and perhaps the contents. On the two Turks disclaiming all knowledge of the affair, he went to the duchess of Kendal, who owned the part she had acted, with the addition of false and frivolous excuses. He then observed, that her grace was of weak and low understanding. St. John, in this address, had desired an audience, and undertook, if admitted, to demonstrate the kingdom must shortly be ruined, if sir R. Walpole continued prime minister. Sir R. Walpole himself, humbly and earnestly desired he might be admitted; he told the king, if this

this was not done, the clamour would be, that he kept him to himself, and Bolingbroke would allow none to come near him, to tell the truth. This was repeated to the dutches, who promised her interest with the king.

When sir Robert next attended her grace, she said the king was averse to seeing St. John, taking for granted, it must make you uneasy. He replied, he could not be easy till St. John was admitted. This was so much pressed, that he was soon after gratified with an audience. Lord Lechmere happened to come upon business at the same time, he enquired who was in the closet; he heard Walpole was also at court: he then imagined him to be sole director. Fully possessed with this conceit, he went in to the king. He began with reviling Walpole, as not being contented with doing mischief himself, but introducing one who was, if possible, much worse; and thus he departed, without offering the papers to be signed, which he brought as chancellor of the dutchy. This diverted the king extreamly, who made it the subject of conversation, when sir Robert waited on him; he slightly mentioned St. John's demonstrations, and called them bagatelles.

I have been thus minute and exact, because St. John and his friends have made the thing surer and more imediate, than can be justified from reality. On the other side, some of the great man's nearest relations and friends have deemed it as groundless, and have thought fit to represent him as under no sort of apprehension from his rival. I will therefore repeat what he said several times, and particularly at the end of the conversation, which was nearly in these words. "As he had the dutches entirely on his side, I need not add, what must or might in time have been the consequence. He informed me the same day, that the bill in favour of St. John, is wholly to be ascribed to the influence of the dutches. Either the present viscount Chetwind, or his brother William, conveyed eleven thousand pounds from St. John's lady to lady Walsingham, the dutches's niece.

Period III.
1720 to 1727.

1723—1725.

LETTERS AND PAPERS RELATING TO THE DISTURBANCES
IN IRELAND, ON ACCOUNT OF WOOD's PATENT, FOR
COINING COPPER MONEY.

CONTAINING

1. Correspondence between sir Robert Walpole, the duke of Newcastle, the duke of Grafton, and lord Carteret.
2. Between lord chancellor Midleton, and Thomas, and Saint John Brodrick.

1. Correspondence between sir Robert Walpole, the duke of Newcastle, the duke of Grafton, and lord Carteret.

DUKE OF GRAFTON TO THE ARCHBISHOP OF DUBLIN.

Complains of lord chancellor Midleton's disrespectful behaviour.

Draught. (January 24, 1723.) I Don't touch upon each head of your letters to Mr. Hopkins * relating to me, yet they make a due impression, and I hope, I shall find my advantage in those hints, which, I am sensible, proceed from the truest friendship, as I am, that your grace's professions thereupon, are very sincere; in confidence of which, I will take the liberty to mention a treatment of the lord chancellor to me, which is not at all obliging, and which, I believe you will think very extraordinary. I must acquaint you, that whilst I was in the country, the king's letter appointing the lord chancellor to be in the government was return'd hither by the lords justices, upon the omission of a necessary clause; his lordship press'd my secretary very much to have it deliver'd to him, who desir'd to be excus'd, as neither consistent with respect to me, nor his duty, to deliver a letter to have any thing executed upon it, in my absence, which was directed to me. Thereupon my lord apply'd to the secretary's office, upon the private intimation he received from Ireland, and before

Extract.

* His secretary.

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before I arriv'd, obtain'd a new letter to be prepared and signed, and sent away by the last post, not favoring me with a visit, tho' I arriv'd on Sunday, till this morning (my public day) and then so far from any apology, that he made no mention of this proceeding. This usage, I have cause to take amiss, but another part of it more, viz; his procuring the king's letter to be directed contrary to the usual forms observ'd in all or most cases, as you will remark, when you see it, and which is a flight I have not deserved: I have mention'd this behaviour to the king, who does not at all approve of it, and I have prepared his majesty so, as that he will not be uneasy to have again the trouble of signing another letter, if the lords justices think proper to return that now upon the road, in order to pay the proper compliment to the lord lieutenant in the address. As I write to your grace as a particular friend, and one who has both my honor and interest at heart, I know you will in this point have regard to both, and treat this in the manner you think proper.

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Patent.

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DUKE OF GRAFTON TO ROBERT WALPOLE.

Dissatisfaction on account of Wood's patent.

SIR,

Dublin, August 22, 1723.

AFTER the ceremony and forms, upon first coming into the kingdom, were a little over, I took the first opportunity of discoursing with the principal persons here, and with those likewise in whom I had most confidence upon a matter which I found was in every body's mouth that I conversed with, and which I was inform'd was the subject of all conversations, both in town and country; I open'd it as a point I had much at heart, and us'd all the arguments I was furnished with, to induce them to come into my sentiments, in order to support the king's patent, I mean the new copper money. I am sorry to find it is so distastfull to the country; that even those who are most forward to enter into measures agreeable to our side of the water in all other instances dare not undertake the defense of this patent; they allow, that some objections made to it are frivolous, but yet, that there are some things in it so prejudicial to the kingdom, and so much more so, than in former grants of the like kind, that in their own opinion, they can't like it, but to support it, wou'd be to make them of little use to the king's service hereafter, so much they shou'd lose their credit with gentlemen, who are well affected to the government.

Draughts.

x y 2

They

MEMOIRS OF SIR ROBERT WALPOLE.

Period III. They give me reason to hope, that other things which had rais'd some clamour before I came here, may be kept from giving disturbance to the session,

1720 to 1727.

1723. in case people are not thrown into ill humour by an opposition to what shall be mov'd in parliament for their relief upon this head. In what shape this will be introduc'd, I can't yet learn; nor do I know whether it is yet settled, there being few members yet in town; but I plainly see, there will be no avoiding some disagreable proceedings upon it, and fear we shall be very much embarrass'd, whatever turn it takes. I understand, that some time ago, a representation from the council here wou'd have been pres'd to be sent over to England upon this subject, but was wav'd upon my being soon expected over. A paper has been printed here, call'd Ireland's consternation, wherein this grant is set out in the worst light; and is plainly calculated to stir up ill blood; but several of our friends seem to think, that some of the objections are unanswerable: a stop is put to the publication of it, but whether thro' the discretion of the printer, or for the author to amend it, I am not sure, but we expect to see something of the same kind abroad, when the parliament meets. I cou'd not forbear sending you in general the sense of this country upon this affair, and shall trouble you farther, when I have learnt any thing worth your notice; in the mean time, I beg you to be persuaded, that if this point ends in a manner disagreable to us both, which I much fear, it shall not be owing to my want of labour and endeavours.

ROBERT WALPOLE TO THE DUKE OF GRAFTON.

Suspects that the accounts of the discontents in Ireland are exaggerated.

MY LORD,

Whitehall, August 31, 1723.

I Am very much concerned at the account your grace gives me, of the disposition of people with regard to the copper money, and am truly very much surpris'd at it. 'Tis impossible to judge of the objections 'till we hear them; and I cannot but yet think, 'tis rather a popular run without consideration, than any real solid mischiefs that occasion this clamour. Those friends to your grace, and your very humble servants here, that are afraid, they shall so far lose their credit in this affair, as not to be able to do any other service to your government, I dare say, have well consider'd what will be the consequences of such a proceeding, and are very well satisfy'd, that yielding in this, is doing you the best service. If I thought so, I cou'd be easy in any trouble

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trouble that is prepar'd for us, in order to make you easie there: I wish at least they wou'd vouchsafe to let us know these unanswerable and insuperable objections, and tell us, what they propose, that can be of service, and that can possibly be comply'd with. You know, my lord, all that I know of this matter, and I shall be heartily forry for your sake, that the first trouble that is given of this kind, shou'd arise under your administration, and hope it will avail you to have conquer'd all other difficultys. I am afraid some people and I do not think alike of this matter; I think I forefee the consequences, and if I shou'd be the first, I believe I shall not be the only man, that will be made fensible of them. You know that I am most sincerely, &c.

DUKE OF GRAFTON TO LORD TOWNSHEND.

Laments the disagreeableness of his situation.—Complains of lord Middleton's conduct.

MY DEAR LORD,

Dublin, September 24, 1723.

I Shall not take up much of your time, since I send you a copy of the letter Townshend
I write to Mr. Walpole, it is all that we can inform either your lordship or Papers.
him of at present. I believe you may immagine how disagreeable this whole
business has been to me, I think myself most unfortunate, that such an affaire
happen'd in my time; however I beg that you will depend upon my truth in
this case, that the whole earth could not have gott through this affaire, without
its being laid before the king. You see how the chancellor acts. If he has
liberty to go on in the way he does, it is every way possible, that something
may happen that will be disagreeable in the progress of the king's busines;
yett I hope, with the help of the faithfull servants of the king, to disappoint
all endeavours to do hurt. I am, with the utmost truth, my lord, &c.

I write my public letter to lord Carteret, from whom I have not received
one since he left London.

DUKE OF NEWCASTLE TO LORD TOWNSHEND.

*Observes that the duke of Grafton is irritated by Walpole's letters, and alarmed
at the discontents in Ireland.—States the probable causes of those disturbances.
—Hints that lord Middleton acts in concert with lord Carteret.—Supports the
bishop of London, who recommends Dr. Boulton, bishop of Bristol for the pri-
macy of Ireland.*

MY

MEMOIRS OF SIR ROBERT WALPOLE.

Period III. MY DEAR LORD,

November 1, 1723.

1720 to 1727. I Send your lordship enclosed, Mr. Walpole's to your lordship, in answer to
 1723. your's of the 25th October. I perceive Mr. Walpole did not think proper to send your lordship's letter to the duke of Grafton, and I must own, as
 Townshend Papers. an humble servant to you all, I am very glad he did not. The duke of Grafton has wrote a very long elaborate letter to Mr. Walpole, thoroughly hurt and wounded at Mr. Walpole's private letters, and taking them in a manner, I am very fure Mr. Walpole never design'd them. There were indeed several expressions, that I was sorry to see, but for the sake of our friend (who has always had a good heart, and I dare say will ever be sensible who were, and are his only friends) I will attribute the cause of them to the great distraction he finds himself and the public affairs in in that kingdom. The melancholy and public part of the letter describes the discontents in a very high degree, that our friends are cool, and our enemies outrageous, and that there was not one man of credit in the kingdom, that would openly take upon him the defence of this patent, which is certainly in every article defensible and just, and can have no real objections in it, even to the Irish, but what are the natural consequences of the dependency of that kingdom, which I fear too much both friends and foes in Ireland, are for shaking off; and something must be done, but God knows when or where, to prevent this growing evil. Your lordship will see, by Mr. Walpole's letter to lord Carteret, to what a height the commons are come by their last address; it is, my lord, very plain what they aim at, and I send your lordship a copy of what the duke of Grafton sent Mr. Walpole, and was what was first proposed, as you see, by Mr. Broderick. The duke of Grafton says, the best that could be obtained, was the address as it now stands.

Your lordship will see what was done in England (pensions and patent) is the object of the Irish resentment, and I believe, if there had been nothing but Irish politicks at the bottom of this attack, it would never have been brought to this height. Your lordship will recoilect, who told you Ireland was not originally intended, but only the West Indies, who had the first information of the design'd attack, and to whom the supporters of it in Ireland are attached here, and what part of the English administration is reflected upon by them.

Lord Middleton has also wrote a fine (but I think an insolent) letter to Mr. Walpole, excusing entirely his own behaviour, laying the blame on others, and

and skreening himself by the behaviour of some, whom I suppose he would insinuate to be the lord lieutenant's friends. What he seems to wish for, is a favourable answer from the king; and by the letters I received this morning from Hanover, of the 22d of October, O. S. for Walpole, I perceive some folks designed them one, that I suppose would have been agreeable to them, if not already concerted with them. Your brother * in his to Walpole, takes great merit, in his not being tenacious of his own thoughts, in his having acquiesced under your answer, and has sent to Mr. Walpole the draughts of his own. I am apt to believe, he would not so readily have yielded, if it could have been avoided. Your lordship does undoubtedly see and feel from whence this whole affair may arise. In one of the intercepted letters from some of the foreign ministers, there is express mention of a great lady,* that was supposed to have an advantage from the patent.

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• 1723.

* Lord Carteret.

* Duchess of Kendal.

Tho' I have already troubled your lordship so long, that I ought really to be ashamed, I must send you a paper given me last Wednesday by the bishop of London, the affair of the primacy of Ireland. I think it is of great consequence, and upon the whole I do not see, what can be done better than what the bishop of London proposes. The bishop of London acts so thoroughly with us, and so sensibly, that I believe your lordship will be willing to take his opinion. I find by him, the bishop of Winchester is disposed to recommend Dr. Chandler, now bishop of Litchfield, to the primacy. He is by no means proper. He has parts, but a very odd understanding, will be governed by nobody, except the archbishop, and sure that is not for the king's service: the primate is not yett dead, and so your lordship has time to consider of it. I have not been wanting in my endeavours to convince the bishop of London, how truly your lordship and Mr. Walpole are friends to him, and how desirous you are in all ecclesiastical affairs, of being directed and advised by him. I think it has had its effect, and he both thinks of things and persons as we wish.

I begg my compliments to the good dutches, lady Walsingham, and if *he* deserves it, my friend the mareschal, from whom I have not had one word these three months past. Forgive me this long, and I doubt you will think, impertinent letter, and believe me with the sincerest affection.

Period III.

1720 to 1727.

DUKE OF GRAFTON TO ROBERT WALPOLE.

1723.

Complains of lord Townshend's silence.—Obstructions given to Wood's patent.—Addresses of both houses.—General panic seizes even the king's friends.—Bitterly reproaches lord chancellor Midleton's conduct, and requests his removal.—Character and conduct of Dr. William King, archbishop of Dublin.

SIR,

Dublin, Dec. 19, 1723.

Orford
Papers.

I Have been very unwilling to trouble you with my private letters oftner than the necessity of affairs, or an explanation of my own conduct here absolutely requir'd; and tho' I have not hitherto particularly acknowledged the receipt of that private letter of the 26th of October (the only one of that kind I have been favour'd with for eight weeks past) yet beg leave to assure you that I have the most gratesfull sense of the good offices both you and my lord Townshend have done me, in makeing a due impression upon his majesty, with regard to the behaviour of a certain family here, to which is cheifly oweing the great obstruction which has been given to the king's busines this session, and my own continual disquietude, ever since the beginning of it. I must however confess, that I thinke myself very unhappy, that amidst all the difficultys I have had to struggle with, I have never been favour'd with one line from my lord Townshend, since my arrival in this kingdom, and my uneasiness upon this head, can't but be very great, as you may imagine; since the only letter his lordship intended me, imported a dislike of my conduct in so strong terms, that in goodness to me, you forbore to transmit it. Your sentiments being so much the same, on account of my conduct, I thought myself oblig'd to offer to his lordship the same reafons in my justification which I troubled you with, and that I might with the greater exactnes inform you alike, I sent him the whole correspondence which has passed betwixt us. Whatever failings I am chargeable with, I flatter myself, you will both impute them to an error in judgement only; for I protest to you, I related facts with the strictest regard to truth.

The cheif busines which has occasioned debates in each house of parliament since the recess, has been his majesty's answers to the respective addresses relating to Mr. Wood's patent. Altho' they were in the same terms to both houses, yet there was not the same respect paid in the house of commons, neither

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Patent.

2723.

neither in the debates, nor in the result, as in the upper house, which you will soon discern upon reading the papers inclosed. The first part of the resolution of the commons, as farr as is scored, was settled at a meeting of the king's cheif servants of that house in my closet; all that follows was offered by way of amendment by the peevish people in the house, which, tho' long debated and struggled, was at last receiv'd, the former infatuation of the country-gentelmen upon this subject, returning so strong upon them, there was notwithstanding a division. Those who are more immediatly under my influence, however, strenuously debated, and protested against the amendment, as prescribing to his majesty in what manner he shou'd proceed, after he had in the most gracious and extensive words, assured them of his doeing every thing within his power for their satisfaction, &c.

Mr. Conolly, the chancellor of the exchequer, the attorney and tollicitor general, and others of the best ability and intention, found the torrent too strong to venture a division, tho' they sufficiently testified their approbation of the answer, and in my conscience were very hearty in useing all endeavours to avoid any thing in the addres which might carry the leaft appearance of disrepect or distrust, which they urg'd both in public and private, as most agreeable to good policy as well as duty. Indeed, as to the patent, I must say, as I formerly hinted, there was no makeing any impression upon them in its favour, and yet 'tis certain, Mr. Conolly has lost some ground where he us'd to have influence, by being represented as too cool in the whole course of this enquiry. As it is vifible that that gentleman has not so great an influence as formerly, so it is as sure, that no one person has a personal interest equal to his. Such has been the management of those who cover'd their true designs under the pretence of this greivance, that I have discover'd such a pannick in the king's best freinds, that they even were apprehensive of popular commotions. Letters from the electors in the country to their members, many people in Dublin (some through weaknes, others thro' malice) flocking to the bankers to call in their money, or to alter their notes, which now mostly are drawn with an exprefs condition, to be paid in gold or silver: many other ridiculous extravagancys have prevailed not worth your notice.

A late instance in the house of commons haſhewn, that upon all points, the faction is not equally strong. Before the recess, a pompous petition was presented, complaining of a great greivance to the subject, by a collector in dif- training for an arrear of quitt rent: some strokes in it bore hard upon com-

Period III. ~~missioners of the revenue, and 'twas no secret, that the complaint was levell'd at Mr. Conolly.~~ Upon a full hearing and examination, the petition was voted scandalous and malitious, and the temper of the house did not appear to the disadvantage of the speaker, or to the satisfaction of the Brodericks, who expos'd pretty openly their malice. When the address in return to the king's answer, was resolv'd in the manner abovemention'd, Mr. Broderick affected to press the dispatch of the money bill, and had the assurance to say, that the world shou'd be convinc'd how some gentlemen had been misrepresented; as if they had a design to obstruct the passing that bill, but his mouth was stop'd by generall Wynn, who put him in mind of his talking in that style at different times in the house.

The lords had a division upon the motion for an address of thanks, go against 7, in the last number, the only peevish lords worth your notice, who thought the answser not satisfactory, were the archbishop of Dublin, and lord Abercorn. I can't but observe to you, the very unaccountable behaviour of my lord chancellor upon this occasion. At a meeting of lords, before the parliament met, where I communicated his majesty's answer, his lordship was much upon the reserve as to the answser in general, and as to particular parts of it then discours'd of (for exceptions were taken by some to part of it) he still fended off, and declin'd giveing a categorical. I afterwards sent for him to ~~my~~ closet, and there alone with him set forth the arts and industry which I knew were on foot to make ill impressions on members of each house, and the attempts designd by parliamentary artifice to make the king's answer appear less gracious, that as we two were his majesty's cheif servants here, I had warmly declar'd what I took to be my duty, and that the same was incumbent upon him. In fine, I insisted upon his letting me know what part he desir'd to take in this affair. Not to trouble you with all his reasonnings, who you know is not the least ~~verbouse~~ in the world, he told me, that he was of opinion, that the answer was not satisfactory, that if there shou'd be a division, he must vote agreeably to that opinion, but that in his station, he shou'd decline debating on that side of the question. How agreeably to this declaration he behav'd, give me leave to inform you; he shew'd the greatest partiality upon the wool sack, in stateing and putting the question, treating my lord Kildare, who moved the thanks, and the other lords who supported him, without common decency, and in such a manner, that I have heard it remarked by all sorts of people; yet when in the division, the lords came to take his

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his vote, with much unwillingness, after being pres'd two or three times, he at length, with an ill grace, voted content, saying that he did not use to differ with such a majority, or to that effect. From many instances for some years past, it is manifest, this principle has govern'd his politicks. He throws himself amongst the majority, and then assumes to himself the honour of being cheif of that party. This fineſſe was very remarkable the laſt ſeffion, in the diſpute about the Iriſh bank; at firſt, he warmly promoted it, but when he diſcover'd a flame raifed againſt it, by the influence of the bankers, and other means, he turned ſhort, and took the other ſide, his kindred in the houſe of commons had all voted for it, and his ſon vehement in the firſt debates on that ſide of the queſtion in the beginning of the ſeffion; but before two months were paſt, the very contrary arguments were as violently ſupported.

All reſentment or prejudice apart, I may venture to affirm to you, for the truth of which I may appeal to the general voice of the country, that till the patent for the new coiſage came upon the tapis, the chancellor had fewer perſonal freinds than any one man in the nation. Many are attach'd to him only thro' intereſt, whilſt he is veſted with power; ſome who hated him, return'd to him when he was ſent back from England as one of the late juſtices. That mark of the king's favour, believe me, has no ways conduced to the good of his ſervice, but has artfully been made uſe of to perſuade this part of the world, that his lordſhip has very good ſuport at court.* On many diſferent occasions, it has appear'd, that no regard has been had to thoſe on either ſide of the water, to whom he really owed the obligation. Notwithſtanding all the protestations made at that time by the chancellour, of a gratefull return, I confeſs, I was very apprehenſive that the king's buſineſſ here wou'd receive no benefit from his being reſtor'd to power, but that he wou'd uſe it to diſtress my administration, knowing long that his character is to be false and moſolent in power, when ſtript of it, the moſt abject ſubmiſſive creature alive. The event has apparently justified that opinion. His lordſhip and his family have ſometime been ſhakeing hands with the torys here. Great complaints of very impropoſe persons being put into the comiſſion of the peace, before he laſt went into England, reach'd me whilſt I wauſt here; and I have been ſince affur'd, that amongſt the feveller new converts from popery made juſtices, ſome were ſo lately become ſuch, that gentlemen of the country were ſtrangers to their conveſion, till they found them in the comiſſion. Some paſſages, at a full committee of the commons this ſeffion, in a matter depending,

MEMOIRS OF SIR ROBERT WALPOLE.

Period III. relating to a new convert justice, gave him great apprehensions least an enquiry of that kind shou'd be sett on foot, which occasion'd him to desire a visit from a member of distinction, in which he gave such assurances, and made such excuses, as wou'd very ill become a minister, who had nothing to reproach himself with upon that head.

After haveing thus particularly and justly exposed to your view the behaviour of this lord, I submit it to you, whether the continuance of him in employment can consist with the king's interest and service here. If better judgments shou'd determine it otherwise, it is my duty to offer this advice; if the chancellour is not changed, the rest of the king's chief servants must, or there will be a perpetual distraction in his affairs, there being scarce one of those at present in employment, who will freely open himself before him in any consultations, and this they have declared to me. His lordship will govern absolutely, or he will either betray or disturb, of which every government here had experience since the king's accession. It is the opinion of some of the wisest and best affected in this country to the prefent establishment, that a chancellour shou'd always be sent from England; it has usually been the policy and the practice. Lord Sunderland carried the compliment to this country too far by chooing out of the natives all the cheif, and most of the other judges, and the bishops too, which has been attended with very mischeivous consequences to the English interest; for tho' I don't complain of being distress'd by others of the country in high stations, as I have reason to doe of the chancellour, yet I am little beholden to some of them for their assistance. I see too plainly that they use the power which the crown bestows, to serve their private views and interests, and each affects to have a party of his own to play off as occasion serves, in order to be esteem'd significant, and necessary to the government. If, sir, I am so happy as to have your concurrence as to the necessity of a new chancellour, I beseech you to make an early choice of a proper person. It may not possibly much import the king's service, whether this change be made some months sooner or later after the conclusion of the session; but when I assure you, that my honour, credit, and reputation depend upon its being done before I leave the kingdom, I am perswaded you will not be indifferent, of which you have been pleas'd to give me so kind an assurance in your letter of the 3d of October. It is the common topick of all company's here, that this event will shew who has the most credit at St. James's, my lord chancellour or my lord lieutenant. Whether it is most pro-

per to put the great seal into the hands of a new chancellour, or keeper, or into commission, I submit to your judgment; but be it one way or other, if it is to be, it will avoid much difficulty to determine it before the appointment of the new lords justices at my return.

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Patent.

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I forbear to recommend to you any persons for that trust, since you are well able to judge who are most deserving of it, from the accounts I have given you of the behaviour of the most eminent people; only a few words may be necessary to let you into the character of the archbishop of Dublin, not remembering that I have made mention of him this session; and he is of as uncommon a mixture as most people I know. He is very indiscreet in his actions and expressions, pretty ungovernable, and has some wild notions, which sometimes make him impracticable in business, and he is to a ridiculous extravagance, national. Upon some points (of which the jurisdiction of the house of lords is a principal one) he loses both his temper and his reason. Before the opening of the session, at a meeting, where my speech was to be communicated, and consider'd, he used some very indecent expressions, objecting to the words, *a happy people*: he said, those of this nation could not be esteem'd such, for that since the king's accession, by an act of the legislature of another kingdom, they were in some respect put under slavery, with other unguarded expressions, and wild arguments to the same effect. In the committee of lords to draw up the address to his majesty, he debated and divided against the word *happy*, using the same arguments, tho' I beleive in public not quite in so harsh terms as before. As I thought it proper to lay this behaviour before you, so in justice to him, I must inform you, that he is very well affected to the king, and hearty in supporting the present settlement of the crown, and an utter enemy to the pretender and his cause. He is charitable, hospitable, a despiser of riches, and an excellent bishop, for which reasons he has generally the love of the country, and a great influence and sway over the clergy and the bishops who are natives; to those who are sent over from England, he does not shew much courtesy. I wish I could have made this letter shorter, but the nature of the matters I was to lay before you, and the time drawing near against which the proper measures are to be taken, not admitting of it, I hope I may be forgiven; especially since I don't foresee that I can again trouble you with so tedious a letter. The present state of our affairs are before you, and I leave the rest to your judgement, your care, and your freindship. When you favour me with your answer and determination, I will thereupon, according to the usual form, write to my lord

MEMOIRS OF SIR ROBERT WALPOLE.

Period III. lord Carteret a letter, to be laid before the king, recommending the persons
^{1720 to 1727.} who shall seem proper to be appointed lords justices. I take the liberty to
^{1723.} send you the state of the case with regard to the bill before you, to prevent
the farther growth of popery, as I have received it from some of the chief of
the judges and king's council. The house of commons have much at heart
that bill. It has been mended since it came from them, as commonly their
bills want to be: possibly you may still make it better; but if a bill shou'd not
pass, I fear it wou'd be of very ill consequence, the present laws being so
evaded, that the popish priests dayly increase, and keep up such a spirit of
rebellion amōngst the people, as may sometime be very troublesome, if not fatal
to the government.

DUKE OF GRAFTON TO ROBERT WALPOLE.

Opposes the first resolution to inquire into the conduct and absence of the lord chancellor.—Privately supports it when introduced.—Vote of censure passes the house of lords.—Counter motion in his favour passes the commons.—Addreses to the lord lieutenant.

SIR,

December 26, 1723.

**Oxford
Papers.**

SINCE I finish'd my very long letter to you some days agoe, which has been
detained, by reason all our boats were on your side till yesterday, that we
receiv'd four mails together, some very extraordinary occurrences here, oblige
me to trespass more upon your patience by another letter, the subject matter
not allowing me to bring it within the compass of a postscript.

By the resolutions transmitted to you with my publick letter of the same date
with this, you will find that my lord chancellour has beent he subject of debates
in both houses. The complaint of a great greivance by his so long absence was
pretty universall at my first arrival here, an entire stop thereby of busness in
the exchequer-chamber being manifest, his presence being necessary by the
statute in giveing judgment there, that a great delay of causes likewise in the
court of chancery was occasioned by it, the judges in commission haveing often
their hands full in their own courts, that many suitors have been put to the
expence and trouble of rehearings at his return, and farther, that a great num-
ber of causes were hurry'd over in three months after his arrival, if I am not
mistaken or misinform'd, about 120 (which possibly hereafter may find some
work for our house of lords in England) this matter was under the considera-
tion

Wood's
Patent.

1725.

tion of some lords at a private meeting about a week before the last recess, where it was resolv'd to move the house, that a day be appointed to enter into an enquiry of this nature. In civility to me, my lord Fitzwilliams inform'd me of the design, and as I apprehended, by the consent and desire of the lords at that meeting, adding, that 'twas hoped I wou'd not interpose my influence to obstruct an affair of so great consequence to the nation; that I had little reason to screen a man who had been so instrumental in disquieting me this session, insinuating too, that the issue of this enquiry might favour me in any views I might have to doe myself justice. My answer was, that I was very sensible what disturbance I had receiv'd from that quarter, and therefore, could not be suppos'd to have partiality or tenderness for that family. That their behaviour was too notorious not to have reached the king's ear, whose service had suffer'd so much through their caballs, yet, that it was now my duty and cheif aim to conduct the king's busines thro' the session with as much dispatch and tranquillity as I was able; and however undeserving I might thinke him to continue in his majesty's service (of which he was the best judge when this lord's actions shou'd be laid before him) whilst he was in it, I could not consent to an attack of this kind, and therefore intreated my lord Fitzwilliams to lay aside this design for my sake, and to prevail with the archbishop of Dublin, and other lords to gratify me so far. They complyed with my request, and I was in hopes that they would not have reviv'd their first intention, but about ten days agoe, they enter'd into a fresh engagement, to set a foot the enquiry; since the money bill was gone through both houses, the addresses to the king pass'd, and all the material busines relating to the king over. Accordingly they made their motion, notwithstanding all the arguments I could urge to dissuade them from it. I did not cease my endeavours to the last moment, for that very morning, I sent my lord Shannon, the bishop of Ferns, and my cheif secretary to the house, to pray them to desist, but ineffectually.

I had many reasons, abstracted from the king's affairs, which mov'd me to discourage this undertaking. I have no great dependance upon the veracity of the people of this country, or of their constancy to their engagements, and indeed I cou'd not wish my good lord a victory, through a failure of either, or a want of management in conducting the affair. I imagin'd the world wou'd thinke, that I had set the prosecution on foot, to make the way more easy for his removal; whereas I did not thinke such an aid wanting or necessary after his late actions; and if he had been acquitted, it might have given

Period III. given some little strength to his interest, which I hope he wants. I was sensible too, that lord Fitzwilliams, who was at the head of this charge, was piqu'd at some unbecoming treatment he had received from the creatures of this lord in the other house, whilst the popery bill was depending, and tho' his abilitys are great, his popularity is not so, and his appearing foremost wou'd not increase the chancellour's enemys; it proved so in the sequel in another place. Matters being come to this pass, entirely against my consent and opinion, as I solemnly averr to you, so I will ingenuously confess to you, that when some particular lords of my friends came to me, and shew'd a disposition to act agreeably to my sentiments, I told them that I had no reason to wish the chancellour any new triumphs, nor wou'd I desire them to spare him a mortification, provided all due regard was had to the king's commands to him as his servant, and that nothing was push'd which might wound his prerogative, or hurt his service. This proceeding took up all Saturday till eight, and Munday till eleven o'clock at night. Upon the reports, proxys were not used, otherwise the resolutions had pass'd by a far greater majority. The numbers in the several devision were about 21 to 10. The inclos'd paper, contains the lords in the first materiall devision; and I can't but observe to you, what strength he had from his new allys, those mark'd with the cross being staunch to the same cause our Mr. Shippens has at heart.

The transaction mentioned in the house of lords, gave rise to the motion made in that of the commons on Munday, which ended in the resolutions which you receiv'd by this mail, without a devision. A strict call of the house being over six days before, a number of members gone out of town, yet many kept in it by those who had in view to attempt something counter to what might be resolv'd in the affair to come under consideration elsewhere, the chief business before them being dispatch'd, and the recess being expected even to begin on Munday, made it seem to be the most favourable opportunity to obtain a feather of this kind for my lord chancellour, who in the eyes of the vulgar wou'd appear to be justified in the opinion of that house, which will generally carry the greatest weight, yet the most judicious part of the world will distinguish and observe, that by a general compliment he is clear'd, where he was not accus'd, and where no part of his ministry was under a regular and due examination. Those who oppos'd coming to this resolution at that time, as not ripe for it, avoided personal reflexions, or takeing to peices the character of this lord, but urg'd that a day shou'd be appointed to take into consideration such

matters

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matters, as might lead them to this question, that such a method wou'd tend most to that lord's honour, and to the honour of their own proceedings, that they hoped, therefore, that this question wou'd be for the present withdrawn, otherwise that the previous question might be putt, the promoters of this compliment believing, they cou'd never have such an advantage again, adher'd to their motion, and omitted no insinuations nor popular arguments to impose upon those who of late they have found weak enough to receive any impressions. They went back to the behaviour of this lord, whilst he was for many many years a member of that house, and part of that time had fill'd the chair, appealing to the journals for the sense of the commons with regard to his behaviour in the worst of times, and reminding them of his steady adherence to the protestant succession, and dangers he had expos'd himself to for the support of it. That whenever he had been call'd by his majesty to another kingdom, the interest of Ireland was always at his heart, enumerating several particulars. But what was always thrown in to warm their affections, was his great endeavours to prevent the passing of the copper patent, hinting at some great merits upon this head, which were coin'd for this purpose, insinuations, as if there had not been the same endeavours from others, or else surely they must have have had some effect : these insinuations, I know how to understand, they not being new. Upon this last occasion, I have lately learnt, that a belief has obtain'd amongst several of the West Saxons of this country, that my lord chancellour refus'd to put the great seal to this patent, if to be pass'd in Ireland, according to the first intention, for that he had been founded there-upon when in England.

Folly did not only discover itself in the course of this debate, for roguery too had its part, some makeing great encomiums upon his lordship, who used to talk very indifferently of him, and who particularly had exclaim'd against him for his behaviour and absence as chancellour. Some persisted a good while to have the previous question put, being more sanguine than their friends, who advised dropping it, rather than have any devision at all: for my part, I. thinke the latter reason'd best, being firmly of opinion, that during the present phrenzy which reigns, nothing can be carried; the peevishness seems to me to be equal to, if not surpassing that which appear'd in another place upon the affair of the South Sea. In plain terms, whilst the chancellour is in power, and this prejudice prevails, all influence is lost, and I can expect no good from them, and heartily wish I had done with them, till which I shall continue to

MEMOIRS OF SIR ROBERT WALPOLE.

Period III. live in a sort of a fever. Before I conclude this article, I will inform you, that
such indecent language was us'd towards the lords, that might have an ill con-
sequence, if the recess had not come on, and the king's busines pretty hear
over. Indeed those inflamers met with some cheque, as did others a pretty
rough one, who insinuated as if the enquiry in another house against this lord,
was set on foot by a greater person, and a paralel was drawing betwixt this
and an enquiry which had been set a foot against lord chancellour Porter by
lord Capel; there being, as 'twas said, a contest between them for power at
court. Mr. Hopkins interrupting this harangue, by speaking to order, the
house was so gratious to me, as to shew a great dislike to that treatment of me,
and one gentleman of that side the question, was heard afterwards to say, that he
had good grounds to be perswaded, that the enquiry began in the other house,
was not with the approbation of my lord lieutenant. My lord Allen, in the
house of lords, and his two sons (Talkers) in the other house, are amongst those
who seem to have no other reason for takeing my lord chancellour into their
protection, but out of hatred to lord Fitzwilliam; the two Allens have re-
markably, in former occasions, made war upon the Brodericks; and one of
them this session brought in a bill, in the preamble of which, my lord chancel-
lour was struck at in so indirect and unfair a manner, that his greatest adver-
sarys thought it most becomeing to drop the bill: this may give you a little taste
of our patriots.

On Fryday last, in the house of commons, the question was proposed (which
I herewith inclose) to give me thanks. By the timeing of it, and the terms of part
of it, you will guess it was not design'd to doe me real honour, before I tell
you, that it was mov'd by one of my greatest opposers, who, notwithstanding
that all my freinds desir'd that compliment might be defer'd till the usual and
proper season, wou'd not consent to wave it, without the previous question.
So far the civil banter was carried, and Mr. Broderick spoke often against the
previous question, but when he found the treatment the house gave it, and that
their sense appear'd, that it ought not to be in the votes, he left his courtly
freinds to devide by themselves, who were twelve in number, and sat still him-
self, as did some of his father's dependants with the other side, who were 126.
My kind endeavours to prevent the passing the patent, is design'd by the quef-
tion, to carry both malice and irony at the same; notwithstanding the chan-
cellour's seeming victory in the house of commons, I don't retract my opini-
on in relation to his credit in the kingdom. Whoever sees him divested
of

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of power, and the mighty danger of what they are frighten'd with, over, will find him no favorite. It is not long since he was the reverse of it to my knowledge.

Wood's
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1724.

The uncertainty where my letters may now find my lord Townshend, makes me not write to him. I question not but that you will communicate to his lordship the contents of my present dispatches, when you meet.

LORD CARTERET TO THE DUKE OF GRAFTON.

The king dissatisfied at lord Midleton's conduct.

MY LORD,

Whitehall, Jan. 7, 1723—4.

HIS majesty has commanded me to acquaint your grace, for your own private information, that he is very much dissatisfy'd with the behaviour of my lord chancellor of Ireland, to whose public conduct, as well as secret influences, your grace imputes the unquietnes of the session: his majesty will shew his resentment in a proper manner, by resuming the seals; but his majesty directs your grace not to mention this matter to any body whatsoever at present.

ROBERT WALPOLE TO THE DUKE OF NEWCASTLE.

Deems it imprudent to force the Irish to take the coin.—Thinks it necessary to remove the lords justices in due time.—Proposes that the lord lieutenant should immediately proceed to Ireland.

MY LORD,

Houghton, Sept. 1, 1724.

I Had late last night the honour of your grace's dispatch, with the several letters and papers from Ireland inclosed, and confess I was not a little surprized at the contents of them. It is not new to see small matters aggravated and carried to a very great height, but these things seldom happen by chance, and when there is in reality little or no reason to complain, nothing but secret management and industry can kindle a general flame in a kingdom. That this is the case in Ireland, I have never doubted from the first beginning of the clamour about the copper coinage, and hope I shall be excused in saying, that I verily believe nothing but the king's authority being understand employed against him, could have brought matters to this extremity. But I presume it is not at present so much our busines to consider from what secret springs and causes the mischief has arisen, as to endeavour to apply a proper

Hardwick
Papers.

Copy.

~~1726 to 1727.~~ **Period III.** remedy. The popular frenzy and aversion to the taking this money, I am afraid, is now carried to such a degree, that it will scarce be prudent to attempt the forcing their inclinations, especially where they are supported and countenanced in their obstinacy by their governors, and those that are in authority under his majesty. For how is it possible that the king's pleasure should be known, much less that it should be obeyed by the people, when the lords justices refuse to signify his majesty's pleasure to the people, and the council breaks up without coming to any resolution, when the king's orders are under their consideration. This makes it impracticable to hope to change the minds of the people; and to repeat the orders of the king to the lords justices, when they have already told you in effect, that they will not obey them, is but a second time to expose the king's honour, without any hopes of success.

At the same time, I cannot but be of opinion, to suffer the lords justices to continue in authority under such a behaviour, is at once to give up all the power and authority of the crown of England from this time for ever. And as I am not able to say immediately what other persons may be thought proper to supply their places, to remove them avowedly and expressly for this behaviour, would possibly make them so popular all over the kingdom, that with the interest and influence they have already, they might be able to render the king's government absolutely impracticable, and I think therefore the only expedient is, to send over immediately the lord lieutenant, whose presence has formerly been generally thought necessary, but in times of difficulty or disorder, ought never to be dispensed with; and this particular case seems more than ordinarily to require the presence of the lord lieutenant. For as it is plain no Irish man will venture to stem this torrent, nor even go so far as to endeavour to bring the people to a little temper and moderation, that they might hear reason, the chief governor of Ireland, who must be supposed to have the honour and interest of his majesty, and this kingdom, first and most at heart, and not being a native of Ireland, will be free from that prejudice and partiality which has been the only cause of all this disorder, will properly exert his authority, bring the people to a temper and a fence of their duty, and convince them of the great error and infatuation that they at present labour under. These considerations, make me humbly of opinion, that the only expedient at present, is to send over immediately the lord lieutenant, and if his majesty should be of that opinion, I hope the common pretences for delay

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of equipage, &c. would not be admitted. How far this measure will answer expectation, I dare not take upon me to answer, for it depends entirely upon the conduct and disposition of the lord lieutenant; but I think it is all that can be done at present.

Wood's Patent.

1724.

I shall have been a week here to-morrow, and have been very much taken up in looking into my son's affairs, which a five years minority has left in better order than was to be expected from such a circumstance; and I hope in this week, I shall be able to go through the greatest part of it, and leave this place at the beginning of next week, and I hope his majesty will have the goodness to excuse this necessary absence from my duty.

MR. I. PORTER, MAYOR OF DUBLIN, TO THE LORDS JUSTICES
OF IRELAND.

Has prosecuted the publisher of a seditious pamphlet.

(October 17, 1724.) YOUR excellencies having also desired to know of me what was done in suppressing seditious pamphlets, I must inform your excellencies, that upon the 24th of September last, the publishers of a seditious pamphlet, intitled "The Present State of Ireland considered, in a letter to the Rev. Dean Swift, by a true patriot," were apprehended and bound over to appear at the king's bench term, and a warrant issued against the reputed author, who cannot be yet taken, and the printers of some newspapers have been also apprehended, and bound over to appear at the king's bench, by the present lord mayor, for some scandalous and seditious paragraphs in their papers, the suppressing of all such seditious papers and pamphlets, by discovering and punishing the authors, printers, and publishers, was also given in charge to the grand jury, by the recorder at the quarter sessions, pursuant to your excellencies directions.

Hardwicke
Papers.

Copy.

LORD CARTERET TO THE DUKE OF NEWCASTLE.

Censures Swift's pamphlet.—The archbishop of Dublin defends it.—Is determined to proceed against the author, if he is discovered.

MY LORD,

Dublin Castle, October 31, 1724.

Hardwicke
Papers.

I Yesterday received a visit from the archbishop of Dublin, who after dis-
couring of the affairs of this kingdom in a very extraordinary manner, ac-
quainted

Private.

Copy.

Period III. acquainted me, that the person who wrote the pamphlet mentioned in the order
1726 to 1727 of council and proclamation, which I transmitted to your grace in my letter
 1734. of the twenty-eighth, had some thoughts of owning, and even declaring himself
 to be the author of it: the archbishop added, that he believed in the present
 conjuncture, the author might safely put himself upon his country, and stand
 his tryal; since it was generally understood, that his crime was a writing against
 the halfpence. I told his grace, if he would know my opinion, it was this; that
 no man in the kingdom, how great and considerable soever he might think
 himself, was of weight enough to stand a matter of this nature. But if the
 author desired to have the glory of taking it upon himself, he would do well
 to apply to the chief justice of the king's bench. I told him further, that the
 libel contained such seditious, and in my opinion, treasonable matter, as called
 upon a chief governor here to exert his utmost power in bringing the author
 of it to justice.

The event of this is uncertain, but I must acquaint your grace, and beg
 you will lay it before the king, that if the boldnes of this author should be so
 great as the archbishop intimates, I am fully determined to summon him before
 the council; and tho' I should not be supported by them as I could wish, yet I
 shall think it my duty to order his being taken into custody, and to detain him,
 if I can by law, till his majesty's pleasure, shall be further signified to me. For if
 his offer of bail should be immediately accepted, and he forthwith set at liberty,
 after so daring an insult upon his majesty's government, it is to be appre-
 hended that riots and tumults will insue, and that ill dispos'd persons will run
 after this author, and represent him to be the defender of their liberty, which
 the people are falsely made to believe is attacked in this affair of the half-
 pence. I consulted my lord chief baron Hale, who thinks the case, if it
 should happen, so extraordinary as to become a matter of state, and require the
 utmost rigour. My lord justice Whitshed, who is likewise very zealous in
 this affair, says, that the present ferment in which the people are, should be
 laid out of the case, and that the government should neither do more or less
 upon that occasion, but act with regularity and firmness. He said this upon my
 intimating that I did not know but it might be necessary, if the author should
 be so bold as to declare himself, to detain him in custody under a guard, till
 his majesty's pleasure should be taken upon this affair, in which the peace of
 the kingdom is so much concerned. My lord Shannon was the first person
 who acquainted me, that he had received intelligence that this matter was
 under

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under the deliberation of several considerable persons in this city, but neither he or I could give entire credit to it, till I received this visit from the archbishop.

Wood's
Patent.

1725.

'Tis the general opinion here, that doctor Swift is the author of the pamphlet, and yet no body thinks it can be proved upon him; tho' many believe he will be spirited up to own it. Your grace may see by this, what opinion the archbishop of Dublin and Swift have of the humour of the people, whose affections they have exceedingly gained of late, by inveighing against the half-pence. I here send your grace a large edition of the declaration contained in the news-papers, transmitted to you in my last letter, which is now printed, as I am told, to be put into frames, hung up in every house. The names I have marked, are the privy council. I must entreat your grace to let me know his majesty's sense upon this, and my former letter, as soon as your grace conveniently can.

ROBERT WALPOLE TO LORD TOWNSHEND.

*Desires that three pensions of 1,000*l.* for eight years, may be granted to William Wood, for surrendering the patent, instead of one of 3,000*l.**

(London, October 12—21, 1725.) HIS majesty, before he left England, signed a warrant for granting a pension of 3,000*l.* per annum, on the establishment of Ireland, to Thomas Uvedale, esq. which was to him in trust for Mr. Wood, for the surrender of his patent. That warrant is still in my hands, and is not to be given out till all difficulties in the parliament of Ireland are over. Mr. Wood has now been with me, to desire that the pension of 3,000*l.* per annum to Mr. Uvedale, may be turned into three pensions of 1,000*l.* per annum, for the same number of years, which he desires, for the greater convenience of disposing of it to the best advantage, finding it very difficult, and almost impracticable to part with the whole in one sum, which being divided into three parts, may be easily had. I therefore send your lordship three warrants for 1,000*l.* per annum, each for eight years, which I desire your lordship will present to his majesty to be signed; and upon the return of them, I will cancel the former warrants, and keep these in my custody, until it shall be proper to give them out.

Hardwicke
Papers.

Extract.

Copys.

ROBERT

Period III.
1720 to 1727.

1725.

Walpole
Papers.

Extract.

Copy.

ROBERT WALPOLE TO LORD TOWNSHEND.

Success of opposition in the Irish house of commons, owing to the Brodricks.

(London, Nov. 29—Dec. 10, 1725.) YOUR lordship will have heard of the miscarriage of the king's busmefs in the parliament of Ireland; it is most plain that the Brodericks deceived my lord lieutenant, after the most positive promises of supporting him in all his questions. The ill consequence that will follow from this disappointment, may very much affect his majesty's affairs, if there should be any trouble in Ireland, by the army being ill paid. Of this the opposers of the king's measures seem sensible, and as I am informed, think of applying a remedy, before they rise, as bad as the disease, which is by addressing the king to stop all payments upon the civil list, and pensions, until the army is paid up and clear'd, a dangerous precedent, if 'tis attempted. But 'tis to be hoped this design may be laid aside, as some others very mad ones have been, which in their heat they had resolved, and upon cooler thoughts were dropt, which is very certain; in the prefent temper, whatever is moved for against the government, will be carried.

2. Correspondence between lord chancellor Midleton, Thomas Brodrick, and Saint John Brodrick.

* His second son.

LORD CHANCELLOR MIDLETON TO ALAN* BRODRICK.

Account of the opposition to Wood's patent.—Of the addressees which passed both houses.—Absurd method of carrying Wood's patent into execution.—Negligence in mislaying the patent.—Indiscretion of Wood.—False and exaggerated reports.

DEAR NAMESAKE,

Dublin, Sept. 30, 1723.

Midleton
Papers.

ON Saturday I sent your uncle the addressee, which the house of lords agreed to make to his majesty, about the copper halfpence coined by William Wood for this country. Both houses of parliament were of one mind, that his majesty had the good of the kingdome in his view, and that he was informed, that the coyning such a number of halfpence as Wood was empowered to coyne, would be for the benefit of it; but they were also of opinion, that his majesty had been misinformed, very much to the detriment of Ireland, and

Wood's
Patent.

1723.

and to the advantage of Wood, and those concerned with him in the profit that would accrue by the coynage of soe great a sume of base money. Soe both houses have applyed to his majestye for protection, and that he would prevent soe great an evil from falling upon us: but I cannot but say, I think the lords have done it in a more handsome and agreeable manner then the other house. They say for themselves, that at the time the lords addressed, the commons had actually delivered their addresse, and that the upper house was not at that time so much in fear as the commons were (while their addresse was still under consideration) least the project might take place: but that the lords believed all would doe well, when the commons had with soe much zeal expressed their detestation of Wood's scheme, which gave the lords a fair handle for being very temperate in their application. It is certain that the necessity of the thing (which both houses were equally sensible of) extorted from them the applications to his majestye, being very unwilling to approach his majestye with any thing in nature of a complaint. We read over all the letters and papers relating to this affair on Wednesday 25 September, and adjourned the consideration of them, and the debate till the following day.

You shall soon have copies of some pretty extraordinary letters, which were proved before us, and read, in which some persons are named, who doe assure us here, they know nothing of the matter. But Wood must be a very silly fellow to order his correspondents to apply to men for advice and assistance in forwarding the project, who are perfectly strangers to the thing. I told you in my postscript, under the copy of our addresse, that two lords named in it, were instrumental in softning matters, by which I meant in the wording the addresse: but I think I may, without vanity, say I pressed the prudence and necessitie of our approaching the king in the most humble and dutiful manner, as far as any lord in the house did, and I believe, with as much successse. I hope his majestye's goodness will incline him to give us such an answer as (we hope) we may reasonably expect, considering that we think, without such an application to him, we must have been ruined: and that we may have the satisfaction to hear what we have been obliged to do in this unhappy affair, is not taken to be the result of any inclination to complain unnecessarily. The sooner such an answer comes over, the more chearfully will all matters of the fession proceed. It is very mortifying to us, that the next fession after the bank was attempted among us, we should be forced to struggle with the cop-

MEMOIRS OF SIR ROBERT WALPOLE.

Period III. per coyne, which in another shape would have carryed away all our gold and silver in exchange for that base mettal, as the bank would have done in exchange for the banker's paper.

No project was ever carried on so fillily as this hath been. The patent was concealed, and made a great secret here, after it was very well known, that it had passed the great seal of England, nay, after several copyes were in the hands of people; which induced those who had never seen them, to suspect there was something contained in it more mischievous then perhaps they would have thought, if the patent had been made publick. Nay Wood, the patentee, had the folly to write in the postscript of a letter, that he had power to make 200 tons of copper money at any time as soon as he could, which, at the rate of one pound of copper being coyned into sixty halfpence, or one hundred and twenty farthings, amounts to 50,000*l.* and soe much of our gold or silver might have been carryed away from us in one year, if the halfpence had been received. This letter was written by Wood to his brother-in-law and correspondent John Molineux, and bears date the 9th of February, 1722; and the contents of it became publick, by Molineux shewing it to some persons here, to incline them to come into the scheme. Now, if the patent had been shewn as soon as it was passed, it would then have appeared by it, that Wood had not a power to coyne more than one hundred tons of copper, the first year; and this would have shewn people, that there was no danger of having soe great a summe as 50,000*l.* being poured upon them at once. There was another letter written by one James Hudson, dated the 23 December, 1721, to his cousin Tristram Fortick, in which he infests on Fortick's laying down at the delivery of the patent 5,000*l.* for managing 10,000*l.* and Hudson tells him, that they can gett a gentleman in London that will laye down that summe, for one fourth part of the profits, giving him liberty first to pay himself the summe laid out before any of the other three receive any thing. Soe that the sharers reckoned on 20,000*l.* profit.

This letter, and others from merchants in Bristol and London, which offered to send over to their correspondents quantities of these halfpence at a great discount, together with the nature of the coyne, both for finenesse and weight, convinced people that the kingdom must suffer extremely, if such a quantity should be imported and uttered, as might be made of 360 tons of copper; and all the members of parliament came up full of the complaints and resentments of the countrey against them. Beside the privy counsel thought themselves

very

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very injuriously treated and aspersed by Wood, in his letter 9 February, 1722, in which he tells a correspondent, if a proclamation is necessary in Ireland for to make it current, he can have it, or any thing that is wanting. Wood in another letter, dated 10 August, 1723, writes to Molineux, that he had sent by Mr. Whichcotte, the duke of Grafton's secretary, an exemplification of his grant, with the great seal affixed, to be registered in Ireland, and in the same letter tells him, that he hears of a complaint or remonstrance to be made in Ireland, which he has been pleased to say, will in effect be noe other then against his majestye and ministry for making the grant. My lord lieutenant landed here on the 13th of August, and this grant was soe mislay'd or soe little minded by Mr. Whichcotte, that it was never brought to light till the 16th of September (after my lord lieutenant had returned his answer on the 14th to the addresse made by the commons on the thirteenth) that his grace had not the patent, nor any copy of it, nor any other papers which wold give them any satisfaction. The manner of this grant's coming to light, I never could hear an account of, such I mean as I am fond of setting down in writing. But certainly Mr. Whichcotte, or another of his grace's servants was much to blame for his negligence. There was a letter written by Eleazar Edwards to his correspondent Thomas Bailie in Dublin, dated 14th September, 1723, in which Edwards informs Bailie, that Wood said, if the halspence would not go in Ireland, he shall have a license to passe them in England, and thereupon Edwards directs Bailie before he sends the halspence back to him, to let him know what secretary Hopkins saith to it, and what Bailie finds is like to be done with them here.

Nothing soe much employes men's conjectures, as what person or persons is or are to reap the benefit that will accrue to somebody by this coynage, if it should take place; I should have expressed myself otherwise, viz. who were to have had it, if the thing had succeeded. For I will not entertain a thought, that a thing soe very disagreeable and pernicious to a country, which hath at all times fig^olized itself for its affection and duty to his majestye, will be farther carried on for the advantage of particular persons; since it appears by Mr. Wood's letter, dated 10 August, 1723, that tho' the obstructions he hath mett with in uttering his halspence in Ireland, have been of great disservice to him, yet he hath such interest, that he fears no ill consequences, and if Ireland refuse the coyne, it will easily be disposed of elsewhere. I wish,

MEMOIRS OF SIR ROBERT WALPOLE.

Period III. if Mr. Wood be a man who had deserved well of the crown, some other me-
1720 to 1727. thod could have been found to reward his merit.

1723.

LORD CHANCELLOR MIDDLETON TO THOMAS BRODRICK?

Desires him to inform Mr. Walpole, that the Irish are determined not to receive Wood's coinage.—Bad management of that affair.—Censures the indiscreet conduct of the lord lieutenant.

Midleton
Papers.

(Dublin, November 1, 1723.) * * * * I Doe believe people will be lesse curious then they have been, for some time past, to know gentlemen's thoughts about the proceedings of our parliament, with respect to the copper money intended for us, and *for our good*. For our sence of that matter, is so fully understood, that there needs no industry to be used to know the thoughts of every man in the kingdome, who hath a dram of sence, or a penny of money, or the least love for the countrey. I have seen a paper well written (as far as I can judge) upon that subject, which from the manner, I conclude is intended for the preffe; but I have not been able to get a copy of it: for which my friend, in whose hand I saw it, gave me this reason. He said, that as he never had contributed to the raising or increasing the heats which had hapned by occasion of this copper money, soe he resolved not to doe any thing which might continue or revive them, as he apprehended giving a copy might doe, for that it would not be in his power after doing soe, to prevent its being made publick, which he never designed, unlesse there should be a necessitie for it, from Mr. Wood's and his friends behaviour in justification of his scheme. But in that case, he would speak his mind in the plainest and most publick manner, which he declined to doe, till there was a necessitie for it, because he should be forced to speak some truths which might disoblige. I gave Mr. W. a hinc of my having seen such a paper, and that I hoped to be able to send you a copy of it soon; and to have enabled you to shewe it to him, which I intend to doe as soon as possible, and I wish there may not be an opportunity sooner then I desire. For yesterday my lord lieutenant delivered to me his majestye's answer to the addresse of the house of lords at the beginning of the sessions, and expressed himself in this manner, that he had received his majestye's answer to the addresse of the house of lords at the beginning of the sessions,

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essions, which I hoped, and was willing to understand, meant the several addresses of both houses; the first being only an addressee of congratulation on the discoverye and disappointment of the designes of his majestye's enemyes; the other against our being impoverished by Mr. Wood's lean kine eating up our fatt.

But I soon found, that the answers were only to the addresses of congratulation, and cannot but say, that his grace's manner of speaking, gave me lesse hopes then I desired, of our soon receiving a gracious answer to the other addresses. I shewed how much it imported his majestye's service, the good of the kingdome, his grace's honour, and how much it would be to the satisfaction of all the king's servants and well wishers, that the session might have an easy and speedy issue: and that to attain all those desirable things, it were to be wished, that such answer might come soon, and remove the dismal apprehensions the countrey lyes under, of being ruined and impoverished by a thing which we are told is intended for our good. His grace's answer was, that I might be sure he wished we might receive such an answer: but he gave me no other reason to think he believed that we were like to receive an answer, such as is here not only desired, but (if I thought the expression proper to be used) I might add (I think) expected. I doe not know but your plain way may doe his majestye and this countrey service, if you would wait upon Mr. W. and tell him, that they doe not act with candor or judgment, who think or may pretend to give hopes that the kingdome is capable of being perswaded to receive this money voluntarily. If such people have been found, who formerly gave hopes that methods might be taken here to reconcile people to this copper money, they must now see they misjudged the thing, and must confess that they have not the power to do every thing which they undertake.

For we are not without our suspicions, that hopes have been given from this fide, that there should be such methods taken here, as should make Mr. Wood's money current: and among Mr. Wood's letters to his brother John Molineux, there is an expression which points strongly this way. But you may assure Mr. Walpole, that all hopes which may have been given, or which shall be given, that the people here will receive them of their own accord, are without any sort of foundation; nothing will ever create a currencye of them, but what this countrey promises themselves they may never see in his majestye's reign. I will now let you into a secret, that nothing was ever managed with lesse skill then this whole affair hath been since it was first mentioned after the duke's

Period III. duke's landing. He declared himself perfectly unconcerned how the thing
1730 to 1727. went, and that he had no instructions about it from the king, or the M———:
1723. but added, that honour was to be done to the king's patent, which had passed
before he was made acquainted with the matter's being in agitation.

The exemplification of the patent, which Mr. Wood in one of his letters to his brother Molineux, saith he had sent by Mr. Whichcotte, my lord's private secretary, was not forth coming, altho' there were forty copies in several hands in the town. But at length the exemplification was (we find) not given by Mr. Woods, as he said, to Mr. Whichcotte, but to one Mr. Brumstead, a gentleman of the duke's, who had mislaid it, and at length found it on the 14th of September, among some lumber and goods which were brought over. But this finding hapned to be unfortunately after my lord lieutenant had given an answer to the addresse of the house of commons, in which he told them he had no papers, &c. relating to it; which could give them any satisfaction. The town knew how agreeable the answer was to the majoritye of the house of commons; and I have reason to think, my lord lieutenant was told by several that wished him well, that there would be an humble application for a more satisfactory and explicite answer; but this was fortunately prevented by Mr. Brumstead's finding the exemplification between the deliverye of the lord lieutenant's answer on Saturday, and the house's meeting on Monday, when Mr. Hopkins (as soon as the speaker was seated in the chair) told the house that a gentleman attended at the door with the exemplification. Now, if instead of three persons going together into an upper room in Mr. Conolye's house, on Friday the fifteenth day of August (when the lord lieutenant dined with the speaker, and I had the honour to be of the company) the number had been made soure, it is very possible that a fourth man might have been of opinion (supposing he could have been induced to have gave into the copper scheme) that the way to have succeeded, would have been to act avowedly and above board, and either wholly to have dropt the thing, as wholly impracticable and inconvenient, or else to have appeared for it heartily and fairly. The other method was the result of the poor temper and spirit of one man, who hopes he shall be able to blind people as to his being a well wisher to the thing, and hath obtained his end of convincing one man, that he would doe all in his power, which indeed he hath done, and that is nothing.

You will wonder at my mentioning three persons going into an upper room, one of them I need not name to you; but Mr. Hill was told this (in a vaunt)

by a creature of Mr. C. that after the chancellor was gone away, the D.* Wood's Patent.
 the Sp.^t and Mr. H.^t went into an upper room, and were together for two 1723.
 hours, and then settled the measures to be taken in the public affairs. Indeed The duke of Grafton.
 one would admire how it should be possible for men who have soe many troops * † Speaker.
 at command, should be soe ill generals as to receive soe many disgraces as † Hopkins.
 our great men have done this campaign. The truth is, instead of carrying
 matters on with temper and prudence and good manners, some gentlemen, de-
 pending on numbers in all events, chose to act with hauteur, and to place in-
 dignities on gentlemen, who would not bear them, and were very able to shew
 how inconsistent such proceedings were with the very being of parliaments.
 Civil treatment and common countenance shewn to your nephew, might have
 made him lesse ready to give them the chagrin which they were often put to by
 his means. In short, if they had considered better, they would not have pro-
 voked a man whom few of them could hold a debate with, nor laid him under
 such impressions at a certain place, that it was impracticable for him to explain
 himself, and undeceive the other, where he had been misinformed. It is time
 to conclude, and I know not how to do it better then by saying, that in my
 opinion, there are several who will think it will be time enough to passe the
 bill of supply, when they find reason to think the danger of the kingdome from
 the copper money is over, but I will not pretend to guesse at the numbers
 they may amount to. But of this, I am fully convinced, that a very great
 majoritye of both houses (if we should not have the happinesse of his majestye's
 gracious answere to our addresses) will come to resolutions which one would
 wish there might be no motive to come to; but what they may be, I will not
 presume to guesse, least I should be thought a promoter of them. Possibly
 some may think, that the least they can doe, will be to lay those who shal
 countenance the currencye of copper money, by voluntarily receiving them
 in payment, under such characters, which few men would willingly have fixed
 on them by the body of the nation: and I heard one man talk lately of sending
 over some members of both houses on an errand, for which I hope there will be
 no occasion. Adieu.

Period III. Letters and extracts of letters, from Saint John Brodrick, to lord chancellor Middleton.
1720 to 1727.

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Several conversations with, and remonstrances to lord Carteret and Robert Walpole against Wood's patent.—Speaks of the divisions in the cabinet.—Struggle between Townshend and Walpole on one side, and Carteret and Cadogan on the other.—Various proceedings in England relating to Wood's patent.

Endorfed by lord Midleton—“About my brother's, and his discoursing the ministry on the subject of our proceedings in both houses in Ireland.”

**Midleton
Papers.
• Secretaries.**

(London, 11th of January, 1723-4.) MY uncle gave you an account of a conference he had with the 2 S—,* upon the subject of our late proceedings in Ireland, so that I need not trouble you on that head further then to tell you, ¶ The king. that every word he said, was that day laid before —† by one, in prefence of the other, in the plainest manner, not without reminding him of the constant zealous affection of our family, &c. particularly in the last session here, the quiet and success of which, he was told, was in a good measure owing to it. I had yesterday a conference of near two hours with the person to whom you sometimes wrote upon this subject, and did, in the best manner I could, open and explain to him the whole history of our session, particularly with relation to the patent; at which he seem'd a good deal surpriz'd, and told me, I had put that matter in a very different light from what it had been represented in by those who had tranfmitted constant accounts of it over hither. I found, that every one of the resolutions had been said to have been of mine, and consequently your framing; particularly the two which seem to have given the greatest offence, those about the notorious misrepresentation of the state of the kingdom, and addressing the king against granting the power of coinage to any private person whatsoever. When I mention'd the person that mov'd them, Singleton, the meeting at the Rose the night before we went into the committee, the manner of opening it by the chancellor of the exchequer, the proposing one or both those resolutions by Mr. Ward, and in short every thing that was said or past there, which I did very fully and truly, he said, he confess some people's proceedings and politicks were a good deal out of his depth, and could hardly believe me, when I acquainted him with Mr. Upton's motion at the close of the debate, to declare Wood incapable of any employment, pension,

tion; &c. from his majesty, fearing, as he said, that he might be made a commissioner of the revenue, or be put upon us for a pention of 1000*l.* per annum, as a satisfaction for the loss of his patent. You may be sure I did not forget telling him whose creature and confident he was; nor that the question of the 150 per cent. loss was mov'd by the king's solicitor, member for New-town. He was very exact about the names of the particular persons who mov'd the several questions, which he made me repeat two or three times; and assur'd me, that as my uncle had the day before told him a good deal, so I had explain'd and enabled him to say many things, which he had omitted, which he would not fail to represent to — immediately.

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I had the satisfaction to be told, when I gave him an account of the first matter of heat which past in the house (a certain grave person's most irregularly calling me to order) that whatever the consequences of that behaviour were, he thought, the person who was the occasion of them, and not I were answerable for them. When I began to enter upon the proceedings of the two houses about you, he told me, I need not labour that point, for that it was very well understood, and that no great stress was laid upon it. This is the substance of what past between us, at least as much as is proper to be trusted to a letter that is to pass thro' Manley's hands; when I can meet with a proper opportunity, I will write more explicitly, and let you know several particulars, which I believe wont displease you. In general, I think our late proceedings will in no sort answer the end propos'd; but on the contrary, will take a very different turn from what those who set them a foot expected.

I go very little abroad, so can't send you much news. Our session open'd very quietly, not a debate upon, or negative to the address, and people seem to think, 'twill be a very short and easy one; but of this, I don't pretend to give any opinion. The town says, lord Cadogan has stood his ground, notwithstanding a very strong attack made upon him. The scheme was, Cobham to command the army, Argyle, for the present, to take up with the ordinance, and Dorset to be steward. If this had succeeded, 'twould hardly have stopt there; but as it has been disappointed, people who know nothing, make various conjectures upon the consequences of it. In short, we are in a strong rumble here; who will turn up, God knows; particulars, you must not expect by the post, no more then answers to your letters to the person who is the cheif subject of this; who bids me tell you, that writing would only prejudice you and himself, but that he is, and I verily beleive him, much your servant. For

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Period III. the future, I should advise your writing either to my uncle or me, rather than
1720 to 1727. directly to him.

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Endorsed by lord Midleton—“ Had seen lord Carterett, who appeared very much dissatisfied at my usage.—Gives good hopes not to see it continued.”

(London, January 12, 1723-4.) I Wrote to you by last night's post, bus having an opportunity of fending this by a private hand, Mr. Hamilton, I shall mention some things now, which in prudence I could not do yesterday, without repeating any thing I then wrote. You cannot imagine what a noise your affair has made on this side the water, nor how 'tis resented by almost all sorts of people. I speak not my own words when I tell you 'tis the luckiest incident that could have befallen lord Carteret, Roxborough, &c. who you may be assur'd, have and will pursue it to the utmost with the king, whom it has very much fower'd already. These are the words of one of those lords to me. I need not tell you, that the breach between those two lords and Mr. Walpole, is so great as to be past a possibility of reconciliation, or even acting together. The former have withstood many home pushes at them and their freinds at Hanover, and as I told you yesterday, have been able to support lord Cadogan, even after positive promises made to the three lords, I then mentioned, of his employments, which has not only a good deal chagrin'd them, but is lookt upon as a great blow to W——, especially, considering the time of pressing and denying him this, the beginning of a session, when he and his freinds fancy they have a right to ask and insist upon any thing. He is certainly a very considerable man, and has great influence in the house of commons; but then, many things which pass there purely by the zeal and affection of gentlemen to the king's person and government, are, by his creatures, ascrib'd wholly to his conduct and interest. In short, while he pursues the king's measures, he has, no doubt, great opportunitys of serving him, but if thro' pique, or any other pretence, he should again think fit to oppose them, be assur'd there are gentlemen enough, even in this parliament, to do the king's business, without him or his freinds, and 'tis not impossible, but that you may in a little time see what I say come to pass. I mention this, purely that you may not be under any apprehensions from the omnipotence of his power; he certainly has a great deal, but your freinds have at least as much credit with the king, and are infinitely better esteem'd, by the disinterested part of mankind.

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What the event of this contest between them will be, I can't pretend to say; and am afraid I shall be thought to speak my inclinations, rather than my judgment, when I tell you I have very little apprehensions about it. 'Tis certainly prest on both sides with the greatest application and vigour, and is a fair trial of their credit and interest with the king; so that the event of it will, in all probability, determine the fate of one of the partys. By all the observation I could make, our freinds seem to think they have gain'd a great advantage over the others, and to determine to pursue it to the utmost; and lord C—— went so far t'other day, as to tell me, he did not think doing you justice, by continuing you in your employments, was a sufficient reparation for an injury, which he thought was done and meant to the whole family, and therefore advis'd both my uncle and me to insist upon some particular mark of the king's favour being shewn one of us, and to mention this to Mr. W—— in the strongest terms. I have great reason to know he, Mr. W——, is both alham'd and uneasy about his freinds behaviour in Ireland, which has brought him into the greatest difficultys he ever was involv'd in since his last getting into the ministry. For this reason, great pains are taken to shift the load from our great man in Ireland, who pretends to disavow even the knowledge of it, and the whole blame is laid upon that most inconsiderable tool of his, Jack Rugby. When I was told this by a very great lord and friend of theirs, I took the liberty to say, I could hardly beleive he was in earnest; but that if he were, he was not very well acquainted with the complexion of our house of lords, to imagine they dar'd have taken such a step without orders from their superiors, or that 11 bishops, and 9 temporal pentioners could have been influenced by a little inconsiderable papist in masquerade, whose person every one of them hated and despis'd. I have nothing more to add, not having seen lord C—— since I began my letter; only, that this day in the house, Mr. W—— appointed me to be with him on Wednesday morning; I shall say nothing without advice, and will give you the earliest account of what passes. God Almighty preserve your lordship, and disappoint the devices of all your enemys.

(London, February 1, 1723-4.) I Had yesterday a long conference with one to whom you are under very great obligations both upon this and a former occasion. He assures me, that matters are upon so good a foot, that he does not beleive that leaving you out of the government, will be even attempted. On the contrary, that orders are gone from hence to name you, among others, in the letter which is soon to be wrote. I told you, in a former, that your

Period III. being put in when you went over last, was owing to the personal interest of a great man with his freind, and by no means to those to whom you may fancy yourself under some obligations upon that account. If this be the scheme now, you may be sure we shall be told the same story, and with equal truth. Till this great point is settled, I dont think it adviseable to insist, or even mention any thing else; but when that is over, I think we ought to speak plain English, and insist, that as you are equal in commission, so you ought to be in power and credit with that little fellow, who, I may venture to tell you, is now pretty well understood here. If this had been done formerly, I fancy we should not have been under some difficulties that we have been of late. What gives rise to this advice at this time, is an expression of the person's, I mentioned, to me yesterday, that the king and every body here were sensible where the influence and interest of Ireland lay, and therefore he was of opinion, that those ought and would be employed, who were most capable of serving him. That if people could have been contented with doing the king's busness only, he was sensible it might have been done in the most unanimous and quiet manner; but if his majesty's name and authority were to be made use of to gratifye the private pique and resentment of —,* he thought they were accountable for the consequences, who had been prevailed on to enter into such weak measures. These are, as near as I can recollect, his own words. There is very little public news stirring: every thing goes on very quietly in parliament, and there is great probability of a short and easy session. The great ones are, to outward appearance, upon a very freindly foot. Towards the close of the session, we shall know how far they are sincere. The dukes of Dorset and Bolton are now said to be the competitors for our government, both W—— freinds, and they say, both promised; I am glad, however, his grace is like to have a successor; I doubt we shall never have his fellow.

* Duke of Grafton.

Endorsed by lord Midleton—"That lord lieutenant's stay in Ireland, is in hopes he may stil attain his end, and prevent my being left one of the lords justices; thinks he will fail doing it.—That duke of Argyle puts in hard for it.—Which gives great uneasiness to Mr. W."

(London, March 2, 1723-4.) I Find I made a right judgment of the reasons of — staying so long in Ireland, when in my letter to lady Midleton, I told her, it must be by directions from bence, to see whither the affair of the government could be carrieded to some people's satisfaction, or else, by keeping possession, to prevent the immediate declaring a successor, and of course,

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* Bolton.
† Dorset.
‡ Duke of Argyle.

§ Lord
Harcourt

|| Lord
Bolingbroke.

course, receiving another year's salary. That matter is now fully explained, and gives some people more uneasiness than you can imagine. The contest formerly lay between his grace of B——n* and Do——t;† but of late, another competitor has appear'd, who declares he *must* not be denied his request; you may perhaps have heard, that when a certain person‡ parted with a general's staff for one of a less size, he obtain'd it upon positive assurances never to expect the former, or any way to intermeddle with the army. But this is now explain'd, *and very reasonably*, to extend only to England; and that the government of Ireland could never be construed to be comprehended within the promise, being entirely a civil employment, tho' by accident the command of the army is appendant to it. Without entring into the nicety of this way of reasoning, 'tis certain he has askt it, and in a pretty positive manner, and those who best know him, think he will not be very easy, if denied. On t'o-ther hand, to have an employment of so much consequence and value taken out of the hands of a favourite, by such means, seems a little to strike at that omnipotence, upon the notion of which, a good deal of our present interest is founded. By this time, I believe some people begin to repent the taking *fir Simon*§ into such a degree of confidence, indeed, into the administration; because, if I am not misinform'd, he has struck into this new scheme; and if people could have been prevail'd on to have shewn a little good nature to honest Harry Madrigal,|| we should have had a very pretty triumvirate. But this unexpected incident, together with what lately past in the house of commons, an account of which you will see in lord M——'s letter, has put a stop to that affair, for the present, at least. Lord C——t and his freinds seem to be perfectly unconcerned in this scrape, knowing it cannot hurt them, let it take what turn it will; tho' if it succeed, *we* must alter our disposition, and take entirely new measures, of which I should be glad to have your thoughts. I told you when I first came over, and observ'd the situation of our great men and their interests, I was of opinion, the fullon calm and seeming unanimity that appear'd at the opening the session, would probably end in a storm, having learnt so much skill in navigation, as to know, one is generally the consequence of the other. The session is now so near a conclusion, that I believe nothing will appear till 'tis over; but I am strangely out in my politicks, if the next don't prove a warm one.

Endorsed by lord Midleton—"That my brother and he had waited on and expostulated with the ministry about the design of the D. of G. to leave me out of

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1720 to 1727.

of the government, which they disclaimed intending.—Gives reason to believe he will not be able to accomplish his design.

1723.

(London, March 11, 1723-4.) I Wrote Arthur a long letter by last post, but something having hapned since that time, which I think worth your notice, must beg leave to give you a second trouble. Lady Hillsborough, came to town on Monday last, and among other things, told us that the common talk of Dublin was, that his grace was determined not to leave it till the affair of the government was settled to his satisfaction; and that he was assur'd it should be so as soon as the parliament here was up, and nam'd old Monmouth as the person from whom she received this notable intelligence. Tho' I was not under the least apprehension from this ridiculous peice of boasting, yet I thought a proper use might be made of it, by taking occasion to feel the pulse of the ministers a second time, and making this report the handle for renewing our application to them. Accordingly, my uncle and I waited upon the two secretaries, and after speaking his mind very fully and plainly to each of them, he concluded with desiring they would acquaint the king with his humble request, that he might have the honour of an audience, whenever his majesty was pleased to think it proper. This had been concert'd before, and when it was mention'd, one of the great men seem'd a good deal surpriz'd, said he was satisfyed we were alarm'd without reason; and why should people complain before they were hurt? however, when we persisted in the thing, they both promis'd to do what was desir'd, and to let us know his majesty's pleasure. I dont repeat the particulars of the conversation, because I take it for granted, my uncle has or will soon give you an account both of that, and what he fays to the king; to whom, I assure you, he is resolv'd to say a great many bold honest truths, which I am confident his majesty will receive with his wonted goodness, having as good an opinion of the author, as of most men in his dominions. We shall, to-morrow, know the day he appoints for his waiting on him.

It came to my turn to speak to Mr. W——, my uncle not visiting him, and if in telling you what past between us, I mention any thing which, perhaps, modesty forbids me to do, you must not impute it to my vanity, but the desire I have to lay every thing in a just and true light before you, that you may by that means be the better able to judge of the situation of your own affairs. I began with telling him, that the last time I waited upon him, my principal errand was to justifye my own conduct in the Irish parliament, which I had reason

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reason to know, had been vilely misrepresented to him, and that besides what I then said, I hop'd my behaviour in this, had effectually given the lye to all those silly malitious reports; that I now came to him to demand a peice of justice on behalf of a person who had been most basely traduc'd, and ill treat-ed. I told him, I was too well appriz'd of the freindship and intimacy there was between him and his grace, to imagine any thing I could say, would induce him to espouse your interest, or decline his; but that I apprehended this was not the case at present, and that his grace was no otherwise concern'd in the question, then as his name was made use of to gratifye the private resentment and malice of two inconsiderable fellows; and therefore hop'd he would not contribute to the doing so great an injury to our family, who he knew had on many occasions done the king eminent services, and had in no one instance, diserv'd him, Mr. W—, or his interest. I then went thro' the whole de-tail of our session, and concluded with the account I mention'd, of his grace's stay in Ireland, and the reasons assign'd for it. In answer to this, he began with telling me, he was surpriz'd at my taking any umbrage at his grace's stay, and that the expostulation on that head should come from our quarter, which he was sure it would not, had I known the true reasons of it; that tho' there had not been any orders sent, yet he believ'd he had received some intimations from his freinds here, that 'twould be convenient he should continue where he was for some time; that they were winding up their bottoms as fast as they could, and should be glad to have a little time to look about them, after the parliament was up; that as he could not deny, but that my reasoning about his grace's stay was just, so he believed I must own that another, and that a very good one, might be assign'd for it; but that 'twas not proper for him to explain himself further on this subje&t, however, he was sure I understood what he meant.

I told you in a former, or one I wrote to lord Molesworth, that the D. of A—c's insiting on our government, at the time and in the manner he did, had given the ministry some uneasiness; and that I believ'd his grace of G— was directed to stay some time longer, purely to give them time to look about them, till the parliament was up, the reason for which you will easily apprehend. I am now fully convinc'd, that I judg'd right, and that this is the *only* reason for his doing so; that which his freinds in Ireland assign for it, not having been so much as mention'd here, nor even in his private letters, if I can beleive the solemn asseverations of those who ought to know that matter best; and I must again

Period III. again repeat my opinion, that however valiant and sanguine sir Owen and his friends may appear, they will not even venture to propose the leaving you out of the government, at least not in their publick letters.

But to return; Mr. W—— proceeded, by telling me he believ'd I did not apprehend any ill offices *from one part of the ministry*; but that, whatever my opinion might be of them, perhaps the others were as sincerely our freinds, as they who made larger professions. I took the liberty here to interrupt him, by saying, I was sorry to hear such an expression, which he understood, I meant of the dissentions among the great men, and said, the matter was publick, and that he did not disown being upon ill terms with lord C——t. But I went on, and explain'd myself, that my concern arose from his belieiving I had entred into measures, or chose to make my court to one part of the administration, rather then another; that if justice were done you, I was assur'd, you would as willingly own the obligation to him as to any body; and that, for my own part, I would always endeavour to behave myself in such a manner as to merit the freindship of all the king's ministers, and should be particularly happy, if I could obtain his. This gave him an opportunity of saying a great many things of me, that neither he nor I thought I' deserv'd. He told me, that he had never received more satisfaction, then in my last converfation with him; that I had explain'd the hifitory of our fefion fo clearly, and with fuch an air of fincerity, that what I said, had made a great impreflion on him. That he had laid every thing that paſt then, before the king, in the beſt manner he could, and that he had the fatisfaction to tell me, that my behaviour in parliament here, was entirely agreeable to the king; that he had conſtantly acqainted him with it, and that it was the greatest confirmation of the truth of every thing I had ſaid relating to the affairs of Ireland. He continued, that 'twas natural to imagine, people in his ſituation were glad of the freindſhip of men of character and understanding, and that, without compliment, he thought our family were poſſeſt of both, and therefore ſhould always deſire our freindſhip, and would give me *any inſtance*, I could deſire, of his fincerity and regard for me. I told him, I had nothing to ask for myſelf, that I never yet had, nor did I believe, I ever ſhould ask for an employmēnt; that doing you justice, was the only favour I desir'd, and that I ſhould make my judgment of the fincerity of the many professions that had been made me, by the ſteps that were taken in that affair. He told me, he hop'd he had ſaid enough to convince me, he was not ſo *naughty*, as he had been repreſented, and that I would

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would not think him so, for not having explain'd himself further upon the subject of our conversation, which he was sure I would not take amiss, when I consider'd either his public or private scituation.

We parted upon the civillest terms, and I must tell you, he talkt to me with infinitely more freedom and freindship then when I came first to town. I have been the more particular in this account, not knowing but the prating and lying of some people may give you some uneasiness. You will form your own judgment upon what I write, and tho' I am too well acquainted with the professions of great men to build much upon them, yet I am so entirely satisfied, that they know 'tis their interest to do you justice, that I have not the least doubt of their doing so, and often think, that we give too much credit and weight to the interest of our enemys, by laying so much stress upon a point, which I know they cant carry, and notwithstanding all their boasting, I verily beleive, dare not even propose. I this moment received a message from lord Townshend, to be with him to-morrow morning, and will let you know what passes in my next. In the mean time, let me entreat you, by your behaviour, to let —— and his freinds fee, you know you are out of their power. Indeed, my lord, their interest and credit here is at a low ebb; and I should be very forry to think you had no better tenure in the great seal, than sir Owen has in his power. I forgot to tell you, that as an instance of Mr. W—— sincerity, I was employed by him yesterday, to move for the discharging the committee of elections, from hearing any more petitions this session. The two next were the D. of Ar—e's uncles and cousin germans; from which you may form your own conjectures, for I assure you, the thing will bear it.

(London, March 24, 1723-4.) THERE is no letter in form yet come from his grace, tho' I hear to day, he intends to come away the beginning of May; if so, he must certainly write soon, that there may be time for the king's letter to go thro' the common forms of the offices. I own I could wish, for many reasons, this affair were settled before the rising of the parliament; not that I suspect any attempt will be made against you on this side the water; but your freinds will be better able to speak plainly while the house is sitting then after it is up. The king's going abroad is now generally beleiv'd; if so, 'twill probably hasten his grace's coming over, who I take for granted, will think it proper to kiss his hand, and give an account of his administration, before he goes away. The town talks of misunderstandings between the great men; and that they will probably come to an open rupture as soon as

Period III. the parliament is up. I hope there is no foundation for this report, but if
1720 to 1727 there be, I can't but think W—— must prevail, and for that reason endeavour
 1724. to be as well with him as I can. 'Tis certain his interest in our house is pro-
 digious, and while that continues 'twill be pretty hard to withstand him. I am
 a letter in lady Midleton's debt, and would have answer'd it to night, if I had not
 wrote to you. Pray give her Nancy's and my humble duty. I hope we shall
 be in Ireland before the first of next term. The house will certainly rise in a
 few days after Easter, and I hope before that time, the main affair will be set-
 tled to our satisfaction; if not, I am resolv'd not to stir till 'tis determin'd.
 In the mean time, I beg you will be under no uneasiness about it, for I think
 'tis impossible it should miscarry. Adieu.

Endorsed by lord Midleton—"Had seen lord Carteret and Mr. Clutterbuck,
 and made my complements. Gives an account of what the court designs to doe
 on Wood's complaint.

(London, April 18, 1724.) YESTERDAY I received your lordship's fa-
 vour of the 9th, by which I find you had heard the agreeable news of lord Carre-
 ret's being appointed our governour, and of your being nam'd one of the lords
 justices, in despight of all the attempts and malice of your enemys. You may
 be sure I did not omit paying all the respect and compliments imaginable on this
 occasion, to a person who has been so remarkably freindly to you, and by that
 means, laid our family under such obligations, as ought never to be forgot. I
 shall see Mr. Clutterbuck to day, and will then obey your commands to
 him. I had, upon the general good character of the man, made myself well
 acquainted with him before I imagin'd I should see him in the employment
 he now is, and you must beleive I shall now do every thing in my power to
 cultivate his freindship, and hope before I leave this place, to put it upon such
 a foot, as that no little malitious lyes or insinuations will be able to shake it.
 I have had a good deal of discourse, both with my lord and him, about the af-
 fairs of Ireland, and have honestly told them my opinion of them, and I look
 upon the difficultys, and indeed disgrace, which his predecessor met with by
 espousing that pernicious patent, and giving himself entirely up to the freinds
 of it, as a peice of very good fortune to Ireland, because they will effectually
 prevent his treading in the same steps. From the time of his being declar'd
 lord leutenant, I confess I was more then ever apprehensive of the halfpence,
 both

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Patent.

1724.

both because I knew the power of their great patron was vastly encreast, and as I was of opinion, that the prospect of laying my lord under difficultys, might be an additional motive to the others insisting on the establishment of the patent, and I now find I was right in my conjectures. I gave you a hint in my last, of what past in the committee of councel about them, and am promis'd a copy of the order then made, which, if it come time enough, I will send you by this post. All that is said to be design'd at present, is only to send over an order to the commissioners of the revenue, to revoke one lately made by them, forbidding their officers to receive or pay any of that cursed coin, so as the patentee may be upon the same foot he was at the opening of the parliament. I never, till lately, heard our commissioners had vertue enough to issue so honest an order, nor can I yet bring myself to beleive it, tho' I have been assur'd of the truth of it from very great hands; but if they did, I am afraid some of those honest gentlemen will find themselves in a good deal of difficulty, how to act upon this occasion. If they revoke the order, I doubt whenever the house of commons meets, they will expect a very good reason from their members for acting in direct opposition to their unanimous and repeated sense, and will hardly think any orders from their masters here, can dispense with their obligations to them. On the other hand, should they persist in what they have done, you know they have to do with people, who are pretty impatient of contradiction, and will hardly bear to have their orders disputed by those whom they look upon as their servants.

"Tis now pretty plain, with what view so many resolutions were fram'd at a certain place, against the abuses of the powers of the patent, and I hope, if ever it should prevail, the countrey will be made sensible to whom they owe that blessing. I have reason to know, that the plan of all those wise questions was sent from hence, with design to make the use that is now intended of them, *viz.* The parliament complains only of the misexecution of the patent, but there has been none such; therefore no cause of complaint. You and I are too well acquainted with Mr. S——n's* *sincerity*, to imagine he could * Singleton; have any indirect view in proposing the question for addressing against granting any patent for coining, &c. to private persons; but as the best actions are liable to misconstructions, so a handle is taken from hence to say, that his majesty's prerogative is struck at by this, and in such an article as that not even an English parliament ever ventur'd to question, and therefore, if for no other reason, his ministers are oblig'd to justifye the legality of this patent. This is

Period III. the foot upon which the abuses complain'd of are put; as to the objections
1720 to 1727. made to the quantity, they are allow'd to have some little weight; but may be

1724. answer'd by the patentees condescending to lessen it, perhaps half, and then surely all uneasiness will be remov'd. I don't trouble you with the answers made to these *weighty* objections; but upon the whole, I believe revoking the order I mention'd above, and agreeing to lessen the quantity, is what is at present designed; and in all other respects, the patent is to stand upon its own bottom; without the assistance of a proclamation, or order for receiving them; both which are positively disavow'd, and I hope will never be given into.

(London, April 14, 1724.) I Designed to have wrote by last post, but lord Carteret's being out of town prevented me. He returned on Sunday morning, and I had a good deal of discourse with him about the affairs of Ireland, the particulars of which, it is not proper to fend in a letter that is to go through Manley's hands, and indeed I am enjoin'd not to mention many of them till I can find a more secure conveyance. In general you may be assur'd, he is inclin'd to do every thing in his power that can be thought for the service of the countrey, or is agreeable to the inclinations of some of your freinds, towards whom he expresses himself with uncommon regard and esteem. The thing which is likely to create him the greatest uneasines, is that pernicious scheme of the halfpence, which I now apprehend more then ever. You must no doubt have seen the account that was lately given by Mr. Wood in the publick news-papers, of a hearing before a committee of council, at his instance, and the order that issued thereupon for an immediate assay of some of his coinage. I endeavour'd to inform myself, as well as I could, of what past there, but could learn little more then what is mention'd in the papers, nor do I beleive there was any debate on that subject in council. When the report of the assay is made, we shall know what is determined about us; in the mean time, it seems pretty plain to me, that this affair is to be pushed to the utmost, not only, as 'tis a darling project of one who cannot bear contradiction, but as 'twill lay some other people, for whom he has not much regard, under the greatest difficultys imaginable.

I am not acquainted with the forms of issuing proclamations in Ireland, but if any thing of that nature is to pass thro' the hands of a freind of mine, which he imagines destructive to the kingdom, I hope he will have little doubt with himself in what manner to act. I could say a great deal on this subject, but

But dare not, for the reasons I have given, enlarge upon it. I am to be with lord G— again to-morrow by appointment, and as soon as I can meet with a safe hand, you shall know every thing that passes. 'Tis whisper'd among some people, that he will not go into Ireland, but have the same successor there, that he had in his former employment. This possibly may be in some people's thoughts, but if —* has assur'd him, as 'tis said, he shall go over, I * The King, believ'd 'twill be pretty difficult to persuade him to alter his resolution. 'Tis certain he is as well there as ever he was in his life, and the night after the alterations were declared, — talkt to him near half an hour in the drawing room, and hardly spoke to any other person; so that his freinds are sanguine enough to think he will, even yet, be able to make his party good.

Wood's Patent.

1724.

We are told the parliament will be up in a few days, but as far as I can judge by their manner of proceeding, they will not rise so soon as is expected. Be that as it will, unless something extraordinary happen, I will endeavour to get away so as to overtake the very beginning of next term, for I am heartily tir'd of this town, and long, more then I can express, to see you and my freinds in Ireland. I hope in a day or two, to hear how sir Owen and his creatures receiv'd the news of your being put into the government; they certainly must have been a good deal mortifyed, especially considering how high their expectations were raised; but they have been so much mistaken in their politicks of late, that disappointments of this nature, fit easier upon them then they did formerly.

Endorsed by lord Midleton—"About the alteration of the king's letter to the duke of Grafton, to appoint justices, &c."

(London, April 21, 1724.) I Wrote you a long letter by last post, and was then in hopes I should not have had occasion to trouble you with another, unless it were to give you an account of my having left this place, which I intended to have done to-morrow, and had settled all my affairs accordingly, but was oblig'd to alter my resolution by an account I received, and which went current for two or three days, of some further changes intended, and particularly one lately made, I dare say, a good deal to your satisfaction. I endeavour'd to inform myself of the truth of this matter, but dont find there was any other foundation for the report, then a letter lately sent over by your very good freind,† complaining of ill usage in being superseded while in Ireland, contrary to all president, as he alledges, and desiring that the commission, appointing lords justices, may not pass till he is ready to come away, for if it does, he must steal away by night, rather then stay or go off as a private man.

+ Duke of Grafton.

This

Period HI. This letter, I hear, was communicated to his successor who was desir'd to
1720 to 1727. make this matter easy, by consenting his grace should have the pleasure of

1724. passing the commission for lords justices in his absence (which by the by, he has
 a thousand times said, he would never do, if you were to be in it) and that as
 soon as he was landed, lord Carterett's should be put under the seal, and then
 a new one for appointing the same lords justices during his absence, should
 pass the great seal of Ireland. This is the foot upon which this matter is
 put, and you may depend upon it, there is no other view in it then what I men-
 tion, and that repeated orders are sent to hasten his grace over, who I believe,
 will have left Ireland before this reaches you. Besides the letter sir Owen has
 wrote in answer to the publick one wrote him by lord C——t, I hear there
 is another sent to a certain minister, whom I must not name nor even describe,
 desiring him to assure our friend of his best services, and of his desire to make
 him easy in every respect; that he is perfectly easy in the company he is put,
 and is very desirous of living well *with every one of them*. How strangely is
 that servile abject creature's tone alter'd! He would have talkt in another style,
 if his friend's scheme could have been brought to bear; but I find he is resolv'd
 to continue his power by the same base unworthy methods he attain'd it, viz.
 the most servile mean compliance with every thing that he thinks has power
 either to hurt or serve him.

I dare say, you must be impatient to know how matters go here, and what
 further alterations are likely to be made since the late great ones. Every
 body expected the command of the army would have been put into other
 • Cadogan. hands immediately; but hitherto the person* who has it has stood his ground
 beyond expectation; and the town says, has a friend who has positively de-
 clar'd he will not part with him; if this be fact, such a repulse is more then an
 overballance for the late victory. Tho' for my own part, I know the power and
 temper of a certain person so well, as to be firmly of opinion, that he will
 carry this and every other point he insists upon; and will leave no body in
 employment but his own relations and dependants. The commission for the
 admiralty, they say, will be soon alter'd; and that there are thoughts of put-
 ting it upon the same foot as it was in the prince of Denmark's time; but I
 believe it much more likely that lord Tor——n will succeed B——ey, and
 that two or three of his friends will be join'd with him in the room of so many

+ Sir Peter King. of the others. Your friend † at Ockam is like to have the purse; the cheif
 baron to preside in the next court, and he that was lately ours, in the court he
 now is. These changes make a good deal of uneasiness among every body
 but those immediately concern'd in them, and the torys, who seem extremely
 pleaf'd,

pleas'd, and have hopes of being taken in. 'Tis certain the present bottom is very narrow, considering the prodigious superstructure; but I am of opinion, 'twill be as dangerous to endeavour to enlarge it by those means, as 'tis impossible it should stand long upon the present foot. The publick papers tell you, that Kensington is fitted up, for the next summer; but as the air there cannot be suppos'd to be so good by reason of its neighbourhood to this unhealthy town, 'tis possible a more remote and agreeable place may be thought of.

Wood's Patent.
1724.

I told you in my last, what I now find is refoul'd, that there would be an order sent to the custom house to revoke one lately issued from thence, forbidding the severall collectors to receive or utter any of Wood's halfpence, which, however agreeable to the sense of both houses of parliament, is said to have been very irregular, as not being warranted by any directions from hence, and pretending to controul or abridge the king's patent under his great seal. You may be sure I endeavour'd, as far as I could, to prevent this, by speaking and remonstrating against it to the persons cheifly concern'd in the obtaining it; but received no other answer, than that the king's prerogative was concern'd, and that his ministers could not sit by and see his own servants take upon them, without order or authority, to controul his patent; that Ireland was not concern'd in the present question, since it was not intended to give the least sanction to the patent, but only to leave it upon the same foot as it was before the issuing that order. Besides many other objections, I hop'd this might have some weight, that insisting on this order, might possibly make it very difficult to meet this parliament again, for that it was not to be imagined, that both houses could sit tamely by and see an order made in the very terms of their resolutions, revok'd by persons whom they look upon as under their power, and some of them members of one of the houses, and as such certainly accountable to them for a breach or contempt of their orders; but arguments of this nature had very little weight, and to tell you the truth, I believe, concluded rather for then against doing what was intended.

Endorsed by lord Midleton—“About the proceedings before the committee of council about Wood's halfpence.—Calls the patent a vile project.—Glad of the opposition it met with in Ireland.”

(Bristol, May 10, 1724.) YESTERDAY I received your lordship's of the 26th and 28th April, which I immediately forwarded to my uncle to be laid before lord Carteret, that he might be sure to have a true account of what past lately in council about the halfpence. I am very glad that vile project meets

with

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 1724. behalf of Ireland, had appear'd at a certain place, which I know was both ex-
 pected and desir'd by Wood and his accomplices, it would only have furnish'd
 some people with a plausible excuse for doing what they were in all events de-
 termin'd to do; whereas now all the world thinks, and says the hearing was
 only ex parte. This I find is not understood by some of our freinds in Ire-
 land, by one of whom, I and all of that country in London, were taxt with
supine negligence, in not endeavouring to oppose the proceedings before the
 council, of which I do not think one of us had the least notice, till we read the
 Daily Courant; tho' if we had, I fancy we should have acted in just the same
 manner. You may be sure Lord C—— has been fully talkt to on this subject,
 and as he is perfectly free from all suspicion of being concerned in, or wishing
 well to this base project, you may depend upon his doing what becomes him.
 Perhaps a time may come when a good use may be made of what is lately done;
 you will understand my meaning without further explanation. You would
 not tax me with neglecting the last term, if you knew my only reason for do-
 ing so, was to see what turn things took. I assure you, when our freind was
 first declared, they who procur'd him that honour, little thought of his going
 over; and I know the D. of B——n was promis'd his place, above three
 weeks after he was declar'd; but that matter is now settled, and you may de-
 pend upon it, he is at least, as secure as some of his freinds are in their places.

Further letters between lord chancellor Middleton and Thomas, and Saint John Brodrick.

THOMAS BRODRICK TO LORD CHANCELLOR MIDDLETON.

Remonstrates strongly against Wood's halfpence in conversation with lord Carteret and Tickel his secretary.

Middleton
Papers.

(May 18, 1724.) THIS will bee delivered by Mr. Tickel, whoe will
 bee to attend the justices during the absence of lord lieutenant, hee seems to
 have a true notion of the state of things with you. I spoake fully to his lord-
 ship upon the subject of Wood's pattent, butt more plainly to Mr. Tickle,
 desiring him to repeate to my lord what I sayd, the substance of which was,
 that I could foresee nothing that would create trouble and uneasiness to his
 government, except these halfpence; that this was noe party cause, but univer-
 sally espous'd, every man of estate being to bee affected, as well as trade in
 general,

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general, that among those whoe wisht best to his government, I did beleive a man would nott bee found soe hardy as to open his lips in favour of itt, nay nott to remaine neuter, unlesse hee would submitt to give up att once all his interest, and bee lookt upon as a betrayer of his country. I told him my lord must judge for himselfe what part hee was to aet, butt att the fame time desired itt might bee remembred, that I was of opinion, nothing lesse then a vigorous opposition from his excellency was hoped for, and I was very sure was expected. That the pretence of limiting Wood to a small summe, would bee of noe availe, for that none att all was wanted, besides that 'twould bee impracticable to discover what greater summe hee should coine, which without doubt hee would putt in practice. That unlesse timely precaution prevented itt, I was morally certaine, 'twould produce such effects as I could nott thinke of, that people were nott to bee blinded with Wood's name, that they full well knew the greatest share of the profit was to goe elsewhere, and were sure such considerations ought nott, and they hoped would nott prevale to the ruine of the kingdom. That an order to the commissioners of the revenue to recall or revoke their former directions to the collectors against receiving them, woudl bee interpreted an order to take them, which however would nott have the effect proposed, giving them a currency; for that none would take them in payment, except the poor souldiers, whoc would very soone bee oblidged to live upon free quarter, rather then starve, for that the pay in that coine would nott buy halse enough in the markett to keep life and soul together, that this would neccesarily bring complaints from every part of the kingdom before the government, which would bee well improv'd, and made use of here, by a sett of people, whoe by a prophetick spiritt would foretell what might happen here. That I thought this would bee the firt ill effect, but that an utter losse of trade would soone follow, wherein 'twas very manifest England would thinke ittselfe, (as indeed itt will bee) immediately concerned. I mentioned what had happened in your councill upon lord Abercorne's motion, asking him whether any representation was come.

I told him I thought nothing of that nature could adde force to the representations of both houses of parliament, butt that I mentioned itt as what the D. of G. could nott stem, for (as I heard) hee sign'd the order, referring this matter to the consideration of a committee of the whole board. Hee told mee hee heard his grace had brought over someting of this kind, for that the matter was soe managed on your side, and by one in particular (whom

Period III. hee named) as that 'twas carry'd through before his grace could bee ready
 1720 to 1727. to come away. I concluded with taking notice of the effay made here, in
 1724. order to lay that before the councill here, for that I heard itt was to bee
 brought before the great councill, though hitherto itt had been onely before a
 committee, I desired itt might bee considered whoe brought the halfpence soe
 effay'd; every body knows 'twas Wood. Was hee likely to bring the baser
 mettie, or lighter halfepee: this effay would surely obtaine with nobody,
 and therefore I could not butt thinke what was soe obvious to all others.
 would nott escape the notice of soe wise an assembly.

Whither what I have fayd and heartily endeavoured will have any effect
 I know nott; butt content myself with having to the utmost of my power with
 his excellency (as well as elsewhere) endeavour'd doing the best service I can
 to the kingdom, and if I can foresee any thing, to his majesty: for uppon my
 word, I thinke it will be made use of by those whoe doe nott soe heartily
 wish his ease and prosperity as I doe. I ended with giving my opinion, that
 if nothing were done, 'twould dye away silently, butt that if what might by
 implication or necessary consequnce, should bee attempted for giving coun-
 tenance, a flame would be raised, nott easily to bee extinguished. Farewell.

LORD CHANCELLOR MIDDLETON TO THOMAS BRODRICK.

*Conviction of the ill consequences occasions his opposition to the patent.—The lords justices refuse to issue the orders.—The 40,000*l.* in lieu of the 100,000*l.* will not be received.*

Midleton
Papers.

(Dublin, August 29, 1724.) I Am just returned from spending six days
 at Mr. Pole's house in the queen's county very agreably with a great deal of
 company who loved and liked one another, and found yours of the 15th from
 the Bath: for which I thank you. In it you tell me, that it will be the fault
 of Ireland, if Wood's halfpence prevail, because there will be no compulsory
 methods used to inforce them on us, nor encouragement given to them, except
 by those who are in the bottom of the affair. I cannot tell how extensive this
 phrase may be, but can assure you, that great earnestnesse hath been used to
 induce those here, who have appeared most zealous against them, to come into
 the grace and favour done us lately, by the consent of kind Mr. Wood, *viz.*
 to accept voluntarily, 40,000*l.* and I have been soe urged to come into these
 sentiments; that not lesse than an unalterable resolution against this coyne in
 the

Wood's
Patent.

1724.

the maner it hath been endeavoured to be imposed upon us, grounded on a conviction of my judgement, that my doing what was expected from me, would tend to the hurt (if not utter ruine) of the kingdom, could have induced all the justices* to desire to be excused from issuing the orders required from them to be issued; as they did on the 20th of this month, in a modest, submissive, and yet (in my opinion) a strong letter, the consequence of which we shall soon see and perhaps feel. But I think all the three are determined in the matter, and will adhere; but I can't speak with certainty only for one of them.

If you look into the beginning of lord Clarendon's history, you may find a very judicious remark of the effect the judgment which was given in Mr. Hampden's case, about ship moncy, had on the minds of people in general, who had not soe much weighed the matter before: and to the best of my observation, what hath passed lately in relation to this copper coyne, seems to have a like influence here. I doe not find that the report hath made one convert, nor that the reducing 100,000*l.* to 40,000*l.* hath soe sweetened the draught, that people are inclined to swallow it, as altered and softened; which I confess, seems to proceed in a great measure from some severe passages in a certain paper, and from an opinion people may have, that the same matter may be again thought useful or necessary for us, when we think we know the contrary, and could be very well content to be excused from having such a kindnesse done us against our wills. Others imagine, that it will be impossible to prevent the importing or uttering above 40,000*l.* which I own seems to me to be more difficult than the favourers of the project will allow it to be.

LORD CHANCELLOR MIDDLETON TO THOMAS BRODRICK.

Infidious conduct of several who promised to support the patent.—Proceedings for the prosecution of Swift's Letter to the whole people of Ireland.—Supports the prosecution.—Is strongly against the position, concerning the independency of Ireland, which is supported by Molinoeux, the archbishop of Dublin, and Swift.—Is uneasy at the situation of things in Ireland.

(Dublin, October 31, 1724.) INSTEAD of agreeable accounts of what passes here, I shall be obliged to mention several things which, I believe, will create you uneasiness, because I am sure they doe so to me in a great de-

Middleton
Papers.

Himself, lord Shannon, and Mr. Conolly.

3 E 2

gree.

Period III. gree. The matter of Wood's halfpence would have put the kingdom under difficulties enough, tho' our people here had acted with the greatest prudence and temper: for considering what steps have been taken in England in granting and supporting the patent, he must, in my opinion, be a very sanguine man, who can hope for such an event in this affair, as I believe might* have been attained (before things had gone the lengths they have gone, and before persons and things had been exasperated to that height, which I fear they now are) if some people had spoke their minds as freely in that matter at the beginning as they have done since. But the game was plaid thus, by a certain set of men; they saw the carrying the point was much at the heart of the lord lieutenant, and would be very well taken in England; they knew that the sense of the whole kingdome was opposite to the receiving the halfpence, and consequently trusted, that the majority in both houses of parliament would be against them, and prevent their obtaining a currencye, without their appearing in opposition to a darling point; and I am apt to think, some gentlemen (who have since thought it advisable to declare themselves as much against that coyne, as those who from the beginning honestly and publickly spoke their minds of it) gave hopes, if not assurances, that they would be for receiving them. This conduct, I apprehend, brought us in great measure to those difficulties we now lye under, and perhaps may be finally ruin'd by; for if the good of the kingdome be concerned one way, I fear honour may be thought to be soe far concerned the other, that I confess, I hardly see what clue will lead us out of the labyrinth we are in.

But in addition to this misfortune, the behaviour of some people, who have thought fit to write against the halfpence, hath given Mr. Wood and his friends great advantage, and may possibly turn to the great damage, if not destruction of this kingdome, if not prevented by the prudence and temper of others. On the day of my lord lieutenant's landing, there was a pamphlet published and cried about by the hawkers, one of which was brought to my lord the next day; and on Saturday, 24 October, his excellency shewed it to me, and told me, it struck at the dependency of Ireland on the crown of Great Britain. I had not read it over, but had one of them from Mr. Tigh in the council chamber, who told me, he bought two in the castle from an hawker. But after my lord lieutenant had mentioned the book to me, under such a character, I read it over very deliberately; and when he asked me what my thoughts of it were, I freely told him that I thought the pamphlet was highly seditious, and fit

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fit to be taken notice of, in order to punish the author and printer. His excellencye then declared, he resolved to lay it before the council, and to have the opinion of the chief justice, chief baron, and attorney general, as to the pamphlet's being criminal; which he accordingly took, and they were all of opinion, that it was a seditious and vile libel, and fit to be prosecuted.

On the 27th of October, my lord held a council, and in a handsome and strong manner disclosed the tendencye of the paper, and expressed such a resentment of it, as became a man in his station, upon such an occasion: but he spoke short, and thought fit to select some few of the many exceptionable passages, and to leave others to be enlarged upon by those who should speak after him. As I was convinced of the wicked positions contained in that libel, and how much the publishing such doctrines might, and certainly would turn to the prejudice of the kingdome, if such things should pass unpunished. I thought we should act wisely in taking the advice of the communion service, which directs us to judge ourselves, least we be judged of the Lord. I then spoke pretty largely as to some points in the pamphlet, *viz.* some of them which seem'd to treat the king in an undutiful and dishonourable manner, others which asserted an independencye of this kingdome, and one which in expresse words, calls the power of the British parliament to bind Ireland by laws, a power sometimes assumed in the memory of man. Other paragraphs reflect on the wisdom of England, one insinuates (in my apprehension) I mean the parliament, that they are capable of corruption: Ireland is represented as in a state of slavery, and treated as slaves by England; nay, when he mentions 50,000 operators as a necessary number to distribute his fire-balls, I doubt he means something which he dar'd not name, and insinuates as if we were to be born down with main force. I therefore mov'd that the attorney general should be directed to prosecute, &c. All the lords of the council own'd their abhorrence of the pamphlet, as seditious and of dangerous consequences; nay, soe did one who would not join in signing the order for a prosecution, for this reason (if I understand him right) least the prosecutor should fail of success.

Every body who knows that the first contest between England and Ireland arose from the judgement given in the cause between the societys of London against the then bishop of Derry, now archbishop of Dublin,* in which the lords voted, that an appeal brought by the bishop against a decree in the chancery here, was *coram non judice*. This matter slept for several years, till sett again on foot in the house of lords in Ireland, in the case of Sherlock and

Aveflye

• Dr. W.
King.

Period III. Aveslye in 1719, by means of the same man, when the barons of the exchequer were proceeded against in an extraordinarye manner for acting as they

1720 to 1727. were directed by the lords of England, in opposition to what had been determined by the lords of Ireland. But I am not at present sollicitous to tell you the circumstances of this case; only thus much I remember, that it produc'd a certain representation, which occasioned an English act of parliament, that hath declared that matter of jurisdiction. The labour of supporting the jurisdiction of England fell a good deal to my share, and I was treated then as a betrayer of the liberties of Ireland by some who believed what they said, and by others, who had other views, and knew more of the secret. For the truth is, if the jurisdiction of the house of lords here, could have been established to be the dernier resort, that house consisting generally of soe small a number of lords present, it was always in the power of our bench to determine finally the property of every man in the kingdome. This was a very desirable thing, and much panted after, and I am much mistaken if I did not suffer for the share I had in this affair, within one year last past. In this debate, I used this argument to shew, that appeals were not finally to be determined here; because they must necessarily have the power to expound laws finally, who have the power to make them; else another person may, by expounding them contrary to the sence of the maker's will, exonerate, and in effect repeal them.

This was an objection which could no way be so fully answered, as by referring to Mr. Molineux's notion, that they in England could not bind Ireland by any act made there; which is one great position of our pamphlett, and a darling point of his grace; and from that quarter, I take it, the arrow originally comes. The author of the pamphlett has, I think, visibly had the principle from him. Now this is the man who was carreſſed to that degrec in a late government, that he had vanity enough to obſerve he ſhould at all times be courted in the ſame manner his grace of G. was pleafed to doe. The late diſappointment in the greateſt church preferment, hath no doubt greatly irritated and exasperated the good man, and hath occaſioned the general reſlection in the pamphlett, as if no emploiments or preferments were ever to fall to the ſhare of thoſe of this country. That ſeems to be much iſſinuated; but no man can think the writer takes a way to mend matters in that particular, on the contrary, is doing the moſt in his power to have all of this country for ever excluded from them. I will ſend you the pamphlett, with lines under ſome of the paſſages of which I took notice, when I ſpoke in council on this ſubject;

subject; and hope that your having this matter sett in a just light, may enable you to explain any thing that may be offered out of this writer, to the prejudice of Ireland. The council also promised 300*l.* as a reward to the person who should discover the author. But in a little time after it was buzzed about, that the writer would come in and own himself to be soe; and I heard from my lord lieutenant yesterday, that the archbishop had been with him, and spoke as if the author would appear and own the writing the pamphlett. This to me was amazing, but I can never believe it. I was this morning at the castle, and found the archbishop in the closett, but whether any thing passed on this head before my coming in, I cannot tell, but believe the contrary.

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The town concludes a certain dean * of the same name with our divine, who lives beyond Shackleford, to be the writer, and indeed the maner and nature of it, as well as the style bespeak him to be the author. The archbishop, the bishop of Elphin, and Dr. Coghill, declined to sign the order for a proclamation. You know that the two latter are the creatures of the former.

• Swift.

I wish this matter were once well over; and shal not be at quiet while I have any apprehensions of Wood's importing his halspence, which he may plainly see can never obtain a currencye with the consent of the people, but if he should still opiniatre the thing, and resolve to bring them in, I am in great doubt what may follow upon his doing soe. If the mob should be so audacious to meet in a riotous maner to obstruct the halspence being landed, and the government should think fit to oppose force to force, what a condition will this country be in? No body can tell what follyes the populace may be guilty of, nor how far their behaviour may provoke the government to proceed to challice and repress them. But this is a subject of which I am weary, and will quit it. I have been very kindly treated by my lord licutenant; but I confess, nothing would have overjoyed me soe much as to have seen his instructions were to quiet our fears of the halspence ever being brought among us; but this I am sorry to say, I have not had the happinesse to be able to expect from any thing that I have yet seen or heard. If things continue long in the uncertainty they seem to be in at present, I think the country will suffer extremely in its trade, and the crown in its revenue, and I shall soon wish my self at Peperhara. Adieu.

Period III. LORD CHANCELLOR MIDDLETON TO THOMAS BRODRICK.

1720 to 1727.

1724. *Difficulties about the coinage.—Hints as if Swift and the archbishop of Dublin intended to asperse the revolution.*

**Midleton
Papers.**

(Dublin, November 7, 1724.) I Have your two letters, one dated the 24th, the other the 31st of last month; both which came to me under the same wrapper, which surprizeth me. I have always acted with the greatest respect toward my lord lieutenant, and will continue to do so, it being my duty to him as lord lieutenant, and what I personally owe him on many accounts: with which resolution, I hope it will not be supposed to interfere, if I continue to follow my own judgement in the matter of Wood's patent; but I find the great difficulty is this, what temper is to be found in the matter? Noe body can be soe wild to expect, that some people will put themselves in the wrong from the beginning by owning that the patent, in the manner it hath been granted, ought not to have passed, nor consequently can reasonably hope for more then being daily vexed from the ill consequences which it is believed will assuredly fall on us, if that coyn ever shall obtaine a currency here, let the thing be done either by people's willingly receiveing them, or in any other maner. This is an end much longed for by every body: but then it seems to me, as if some people thought the thing's dying of itself, will look like a victory over the patent, and not consistent with the honour of those who were concerned in carrying it on. And if I understand Mr. Wood's letter to the duke of Newcastle dated 29 September 1724, right, he seems to think it very hard to be soe great a sufferer, as he is like to be by that which he faith was originally intended him as a mark of his majesty's favour. This letter being transmitted to the late lords justices; I am apt to think speaks the sense of more people than Mr. Wood: but I doe not yet see who the person will be that will think soe well of his own understanding, as to hope he can propose that which may be acceptable to remove this very great difficultye. I doe not find the least disposition in people to accept the 40,000*l.* nor that any body will venture to say such a thing may be an expedient, which (if accepted by those who appear for the patent) will be made good, if care be taken to prevail on, or prevent Mr. Wood's bringing or sending over any of his half-pence. If any thing of this sort should be propoised, I doubt we should have it called undertaking for a kingdome, which you know is the most likely method

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thod in the world to disappoint any thing in a popular assembly; since the merit will wholly redound to the honour of the proposers, and others will not readily contribute to that which may indeed be thank worthy, unless they can partake of the honour of having a share of the thanks.

I sent you Wensday seven night an account of the pamphlet which was brought by my lord lieutenant in councel under the consideration of the board. I did intend to have lent the book itself by sir Gustavus Hume for your perusal, with strokes pointing at many of the exceptionable passages in it; but far from all. But the knight was failed before I could send my letter to him, soe I am forced to doe it by post; which will be noe inconvenience to you, since your privilege exempts you from paying the postage, which is indeed much more than the present is worth. I own upon reading it over more considerately, and comparing it with a pamphlet, suppos'd to be wrote by the same author some years since, exaggerating the severities this kingdome lies under in point of trade from ~~the~~ laws made in Great Britain, It is very observable, that in that pamphlet he assignd the rise of them to have been much about the revolution, and I doubt, intended by that means to insinuate prejudices against the revolution in the minds of the people here; and for aught I know, the author retains still some good wishes to his patron the lord Bolingbrook, and ~~at~~ that cause, for whose service he wrote the conduct of the allies. It is plain, that the matter of the independencye of this kingdome, the complaint of the lords not having jurisdiction in matters of appeal, and our not being bound by Statutes made in Great Britain, are the notions which have for several years past been propogated and avowed by a great churchman, who was lately thought to be taken into favour, and to have distinguishing marks of being so placed in him, in the time of the duke of Grafton's administration; while I, who alway opposed him in every one of these articles, received usage which I cannot forget, while I suffer under the effects of it. But why doe I mention my own little sufferings, when it is possible I may have strength enough to outlive the happiness of my country; if this affair does not take a more favourable turn than some people not only wish but expect.

If this busines were moved in parliament, I am surc I would without reserve speak my mind without regard to popularitye, and consider the service of my king and countrey only, in proposing what seems to me the only way which seems to be safe for the people, and at the same time honourable for others. But least what I think right may not find the approbation of others,

Period III. I am not hardy to mention or propose it, for fear of falling under the odious name of an undertaker, or having deceived people by my advice, if it shpuld prove unsuccessful.

1720 to 1727.

1724.

LORD CHANCELLOR MIDDLETON TO THOMAS BRODRICK.

Wood distributes the Drapier's letter to the members of the English parliament.—Determination of the people not to receive the copper coinage, although reduced in quantity.—Agitated state of the nation, and its consequences in regard to the revenue.—Conduct of the friends and opponents of the measure.—Expresses his intention to retire, and discontent at the rejection of his advice.—Proceedings relating to the prosecution of the author of a pamphlet addressed to the jurors on the Drapier's letter, and his sentiments on the business.—Recurs to the affair of the coinage.—Shews the little confidence reposed in him.—Private overtures concerning an expedient.

Middleton
Papers.

(Dublin, November 17, 1724.) THERE are letters in this town of the 5th instant from London, which give me a good deal of surprize, for certainly mine dated either 29th or 31st of October, about what was done in councel in relation to the discouverye of the author and printer of the pamphlett, intitled "a Letter to the whole People of Ireland," must have come to your hand. If it be stopped any where, it is barbarous treatment: for I make no doubt but that hot headed libel (for I cannot term it lesse) is handed about by Mr. Wood and his friends among the members of parliament, and probably will raise such resentment as may turn to the prejudice of this kingdome, if care be not taken to have it understood, that the kingdome is in no sort of the mind of the author or his patron,* whom I have pointed out in that letter. The kingdome hath received, and probably may receive more damage by the politicks and wrangling of those two men, than it would have been in the power of its worst enemys to have brought upon it, without the affistance of indiscreet and seditious pamphleteers: but sure their follyes and crimes are not to be placed to the nation's account. There are now three pacquets due, and I have hopes you will by one of them put my mind at ease in this matter, and be able to acknowledge the receipt of the pamphlet itself, with my marks on the margin of it, which I made as a guide to me in speaking in councel against the most flagrant parts of the libel, in order to incline the board to order a

* Archbishop of Dublin.

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prosecution. The pamphlet went in a later maile, in a wrapper, dated, I think, the 2d instant.

Wood's
Patent.

1724.

I wish I could say any thing had been done here, since my lord lieutenant's landing, which had quieted the minds of the people; but indeed I cannot with truth acquaint you, that soe desirable an end hath been attained. It is true no compulsory methods have been taken to inforce the currencye of that coyne (for I will not with the archbishop think the proclamation had a tendencye that way) but on the other hand, no steps seem to me to have been omitted to create a willingnesse in people to consent to the receiving the summe proposed. But as far as I can make a judgement, people are at least as firmly determined as ever in that particular, and I cannot find by the discourse of the most temperate and prudent men in my sphere of conversation, that any body seems inclined to receive the reduced quantitye on any grounds whatsoe ver. That really seems to me to be the sence of the people in general, but the grounds they goe upon, have in my hearing been called nonsense; yet in our way of thinking (for we have a particular way of thinking from the rest of mankind, if I understand that phrase in a late letter right) there is more sense in refusing that money for the reasons which move us, then others will allow, who no doubt have very different reasons from us on this occasion.

I hear there is a paper called "*Seasonable Advice to the Grand Jurors*," to dissuade them from finding a bill against the printer or author of the letter, full of reflections on those of the council which voted for prosecuting and discovering the author, and very liable to be called in question. But I have not seen it, tho' I am one of the persons who are reviled in it, having heartily voted for a prosecution. You cannot imagine in what a condition this kingdom now is; no doubt there are those who represent this affair in the strongest light they can, to inflame people's minds with an opinion of very hard treatment by this patent, and the steps taken to establish it, as they think. I cannot but wish those who have it in their power to efface those impressions, would think it deserved their care to do something out of hand in it; for the damage which accrues to the publick is very great, while things remain in the state in which they now are; and the effects of this patent's hanging over our head for about two years and an half, are thoroughly felt in the countrey already, and will be soe in the revenue, whenever we come to meet in parliament. I doubt the demand will then be such as will not come within the compass of the ordinary dutyes, and must be left unsupplyed, or new funds be found.

MEMOIRS OF SIR ROBERT WALPOLE.

Period III. Now we have charged every thing that will bear it already, except one, to
1720 to 1727. which indeed some people insinuate this affair hath an eye: but indeed I can-
1724. not say I know one man in the kingdome that will advise an attempt of that
 kind, as likely to have succeſſe, or that will be hardy enough to propose it,
 whatever they may fay privately in a cloſett.

Our lord lieutenant doth not think fit, or is not instructed to let any body know, what is expected to put this unhappy businesſe at quiet, but seems to wait in expeſtation that proposals will come from the other ſide. But as far as I can judge, no man or number of men will venture on any thing of that nature; ſoe that I think it is the inclination of every body to come to a right understanding and agreement, yet I ſee no ſufficient grounds to hope for ſuccesſe, ſince neither ſide will begin. One ſide may, but ſeem not willing; the others think it not ſafe to do it, but apprehend that their ſaying they have a readyneſſe to doe every reasonable thing in their power, when they can doe it with honour and ſafety to themſelves (*viz.* when called together to advise on na- tional affairs) is all they can juſtifyably or in prudence doe at preſent; and think they ought to be believed in their affirmation, that they will meet in a diſpoſition to act with great duty to the king and regard to the quiet and hap- pineſſe of the country.

As for my part, I ſee ſoe many diſſicultyes; that I have not a proſpect to live ſoe long, till an happy end is put to them; and I ſee that I am not able to doe any thing by my advice in this perplexing affair, and ſhall, I think, very ſoon retire into Surrey. My way of thinking is not ſuch as is pleaſing on your ſide, and of confeſſion my advice can have little weight; and all that I am like to bring to paſſe is to be eſteemed too ſtiff by ſome people, and too condeſcending, or rather complying, by others. Whichever of the two is my fault, ought to be imputed to want of better judgement: for I have done all in my power to diſcover what is the right thing to be done, and have an in- flexible purpoſe to follow what I think to be ſoe. If I am ſo unhappy not to be able to diſcover what is fit to be done, I ought to be pityed, not blamed. I have thought ſoe muſch of this matter, that I have really impaired my health by the uneafineſſe of my mind and breach of my reſt; but will give over a ma- ter in which I ſee my labouring is like to be ſucceſſeſſe, and where I reap no thanks for doing what I think right.

I cannot but obſerve to you, that the firſt time I heard there was ſuch a paper printed, as the "*Seasonable Advice,*" was from my lord lieutenant on 15

November,

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Patent.

1724.



November, who told me the import of it, but I never saw it till 22 November at the castle, in the hand of Mr. Tickel, who read it to the attorney general, solicitor, and me, who were talking of what had happened the day before in the king's bench, when the court discharged the grand jury for not presenting that paper as seditious. The manner of doing that, I was told, was what is contained in a paper, which comes along with this, and was reduced to writing the same day the thing happened. The town talks of that transaction variously, and are far from being of one opinion about the discharging the jury. For my part, I will not presume to censure the proceedings of a court of justice, but will take it to be within their authority to do it in the manner and on the occasion they have done it; because I am convinced, that courts have formerly exercised that power, and because I know no law which restrains them from doing it. But then it is a power to be used with discretion and great consideration; and if what Mr. Conely told me last Sunday night, that 11 out of 23 were for prosecuting the paper; I confess, I could wish time had been given to the dissenting 12 to have considered farther of the matter, and possibly one might have been convinced in two or three days time before their next meeting. This thought of mine I was rash enough to express to a certain person, who expressed himself so warmly on the occasion, that I cannot but fancy, that this matter was settled and resolved upon before hand: and if soe, in taxing the discretion of the court, I fell into the absurdity of telling him that had before considered of it, that the thing was misjudged. To conclude, the town is in a prodigious consternation and ferment, and seem to be in the same condition as the disciples of our Saviour, are mentioned to be in the 24 chapter of St. Luke, verse 22.

I wish their surprize may be as happily removed as that of the disciples was, by seeing that thing effected by that person of whom they had almost given over all hopes of effecting the thing hoped for. I think it is usual with physicians to change their course, if upon trial they find the patient grows worse, and the distemper increase upon using those methods which were at first thought the best. But my zeal for the service of my king and countrey, and the honour of my lord lieutenant have carryed me further then one who had great concern for himself would have gone. Just now a very sober man of great fortune, and well affected to his person and government, expressed a good deal of surprize, that no bill of indictment had been drawn against Harding, the printer, and seemed to hint, if that had been done, it is possible the bill might have

^{1720 to 1727.} Period III. have been found, which would have shewn how little influence the "Seasonable Advice" had on the minds of the jurors; and indeed it is pretty unaccountable to me, why that hath not been done in all this time, if there be sufficient for finding the bill; and this would have put the offence of printing into a legal examination.

If the receiving any of Wood's coyne be finally on us, I confess noe prospect of its ever taking effect upon the terms of the patent (*willingly*) and I hope it will not be a mark of disaffection in people to use that freedome which the laws allowe, and his majestye doth also in expresse terms. God help us; somthing is to be done, and we find is expected; and I think every body knows the nature of the expedient, but no body will propose it, for reasons very obvious. I look on it as a great happinesse, that I was [*not*] consulted about laying this paper before the grand jury, and consequently had no part in the advice given; but from my being a stranger to the whole (which I hear was chiefly under the direction of the chief justice and secretary) you will make your judgement in what degree of confidence I stand. Adieu.

LORD CHANCELLOR MIDDLETON TO THOMAS BRODRICK.

Hopes that the coinage will not be forced.—The lords justices charged by the duke of Newcastle with inattention.—Their justification and conduct.—Effects of the proclamation for the apprehension of the publishers of the Drapier's letter.—His opinion of the pamphlet, entitled "Seasonable Advice to the Jurors."—And of the conduct of the jurors.

<sup>Middleton
Papers.</sup> (Dublin, November 23, 1724.) I Am not at all surprized at your desire to be informed of every thing which passeth here in relation to Wood's half-pence, considering the hopes you had given me in three several letters written soon after your return from Newmarkett, that we should not be pressed in that very disagreeable affair, but left entirely to our own choice, whether we would receive or refuse that coyne. I confess, I entertained hopes, that in a little time all apprehensions of that money becoming current among us, would have vanished, and people would have begun to think of their businesse as formerly, and been free from their jealousies of this coyne obtaining a currencye in this kingdome. This is so desirable a thing, that every man who hath thought enough to conceive the prejudice which trade suffers, while men's minds are in the same suspence about it as they have been for about two years

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Patent.

years and a half past, and how much the kingdome and his majestye's revenue suffer on that head, must earnestly wish it were settled. But alas! brother, matters are much otherwise; and tho' I cannot decline answering your expectations, and letting you know the situation we are in at present (since you desire it, and will make the best use of it for the service of the king, and this unhappy countrey (yet I must take leave to protest you have imposed a very difficult task on me, and such an one, as I would not undertake at the instance of any other man. For I believe letters are sometimes opened, and am sensible, that whoever writes on this subject, will be found fault with by some whose sentiments may not be easy to be born, what part soever he shall take in this affair; which will be thought favourable or unfair, as men are previously disposed, if not determined, in their thoughts about the matter of Wood's patent. However, while I confine myself strictly to truth, as I resolve to doe (as far as my knowledge reaches) I think I shal only suffer in the opinion of others for not judging right, which I can easily bear; being for a long time accustomed to have greater and wiser men differ from me in opinion, as probably they doe and will continue to doe in this:

I will now proceed to represent the circumstances in which I apprehend this city stands at this time. By a letter which the late lords justices received from the duke of Newcastle, dated 3d October, they found that his majestye had received repeated accounts, as if Ireland were in such a condition as the quiet and peace of it was in danger (those are not the words, but I take it the sense of the letter) and they did think it was pretty strongly insinuated, that they had been remisse in discouraging and preventing this evil, and in punishing persons guilty of publishing seditious libels, if not encouraging them in soe doing. This letter they answered, and insisted on their having done their duty to his majestye to the best of their power, and that the kingdome was free from any disturbances and in perfect peace and quiet, and very well affected to his majestye's person and government. When my lord lieutenant was sworn, and the sword delivered to him by the justices, I did by their concert and direction of the other justices, tell his excellencye, that we did with great satisfaction deliver the sword into his hands, and had great pleasure in being able to assure him that the kingdome was in perfect peace and tranquillitye. But we had acted very unfairly if we had said or insinuated it was in any measure disposed to receive Wood's halfpence, or indeed any part of that coynage: for indeed we know the contrary, and were sensible my lord

lieutenant

Period III. lieutenant will be soon convinced, that the aversion to that coyne was insuperable, as the justices told the duke of Newcastle in answer to his grace's letter of the 3d of October.

The day my lord lieutenant landed, or very soon after, the "*Letter to the whole People of Ireland*" came out, one of which I sent you with strokes under some of the most exceptionable passages and feditious positions and insinuations contained in it, and must refer myself to my letter on that subject dated 31st October, which I find you had receiv'd on the 7th instant, at which time the pamphlet itself had not reached your hand. The publishing this pamphlett shews that things of that nature might be printed and creep into the world without any neglect of the government, or encouragement given by it. For I think my lord Carterett will not be suspected in that particular; and his excellencye having one of them laid before him by some person, he called a councel, and laid it before them for their consideration: if the councel had not done what became them upon the occasion, they had been highly accountable; but I confess I think the councel did as much as they could doe in justice or prudence; for which I refer you to my former letter. The proclamation agreed on in councel, had such an effect, that Harding the printer of that letter was apprehended and carryed before the chief justice (as I hear) in order to be prosecuted for printing the letter. Some time after there came out a paper called "*Seasonable Advice*," one of which I send you under this cover: you will see the tendencye of it to be to disincline the grand jury to find any bill of indictment against Harding the printer, which I own I think to be a most impudent and illegal practice, and punishable by law, under the name of embracery of jurors (but perhaps I may mistake in this point of crown law, having for some years past discontinued thinking on that part of my profession which relates to criminal matters). The paper seems to me to goe farther, and to endeavour not only to excuse but vindicate the author of the letter for what he had said in relation to the dependency of Ireland, and to leave that as a doubtful point. I passe by that part of it which reflects most vilely on the persons who signed the order for prosecuting the writer and printer of the letter, considering that I am directly libelled by that paper. There are some parts of that letter which appear to me to be highly criminal; but I doe not say or think they are all. For I doubt the tendencye of the whole is to create jealousies between the king, and his people of Ireland; and to foment divisions and misunderstandings between the people of Great Britain and us; of the

the consequences whereof I have fully spoken my sense in my former letters, and tremble when they occur (as they frequently doe) to my thoughts.

Wood's Patent.

1724.

SAIN T JOHN BRODRICK TO LORD CHANCELLOR MIDDLETON.

Endorsed in lord Midleton's hand—“ *That he had a long conference with Mr. Walpole about the halfpence, and the persecution that I had undergone in the house of lords, in which the duke of Grafton denys to have had any hand.*”

(London, January 17, 1723-24.) I Deferr'd anfwering two of your's of the 2d and 3d instant, by last post, being appointed by Mr. Walpole to attend him this morning, and consequently desirous of letting you know what past in that conversation. I was with him above two hours this morning, and in the best manner I could gave him a particular account of what past in our parliament, especcially with relation to Wood's patent, which I do not repeat to you, who are so well appriz'd of it. He heard me with great attention, and in the conclusion told me, he had been inform'd of most of the particulars I mention'd, but that some of them were new to him, by which I understood he meant the history of all the resolutions we past, except the first, the persons that mov'd them, and the motives of their doing it. He then began with a protestation of his not having the least hand in advising or promoting that patent, further then as first lord of the treasury, it must of necessity go thro' his hands; and took particular pains to disclaim having had the least share of the advantage, or prospect of any, by it. He said, that these things were intended as boons from the crown, and consequently, that it must be suppos'd, and was intended that the patentee should have some profit by his grant, and added, that he thought those who had with so much zeal appear'd against this patent, should be sure that no petition or paper could be produc'd under their hands, desiring a grant of the like nature; but a good deal more to the prejudice of Ireland, it being propos'd, that a pound of copper should be coin'd into three shillings, whereas Wood's was only into half a crown. This he mention'd and repeated in such a manner, that I imagin'd you were the person intended, and when I prest him to explain himself, he desir'd to be excus'd from naming any body, so left me to my own conjectures. Tho' I know you never had any share in a proje&t of this kind, yet I should be glad to have your opinion of the person he intended; and exprest himself against with great bitternes.

Middleton
Papers.

Period III. He then proceeded to talk of the extraordinary method of our proceedings,
1730 to 1727. which he said, he was afraid would hardly answer the end, not being founded
1724. even upon truth; that the calculations were false, and that there never was but one sort coin'd by Wood, and those strictly according to the patent, and that all the other sorts were counterfeit, *having been assur'd so by Wood.* He said, he was the more positive in this matter, because particular care was taken by the lords of the treasury, to appoint a comptroller, who was very far from being a freind to Wood; that sir Isaac Newton was the first that was appointed, but that he, being old, desir'd, and accordingly obtain'd leave to resign to Barton his nephew, who had made several assays, by which it appear'd, that the halfpence were not only better than any that were ever coin'd before, but even exceeded the terms requir'd by the patent. He could not conceal his resentment at what past in our parliament, which he said, he was afraid would hardly attain the end propos'd, every thing there being hurried in such a manner as not to give people time to consider of what was proper to be done, and therefore they were oblig'd to advise general answers, that when gentlemen were *a little cool*, the ministry might consider of some reasonable scheme, which he hop'd might be agreeable. To this I answer'd, that the hurry and heat with which this affair was carryed, if any such there were, was to be imputed wholly to them who had declin'd, and indeed rejected all friendly proposals; that if gentlemen had understood, and could have trusted one another, I was assur'd things would have taken another turn, and any reasonable thing that could have been propos'd either by the castle or ministry here, would have been gone into; but that since all measures of this kind were declin'd, I thought they who gave such advise, and not our freinds, were accountable for the consequences, to which he seem'd to agree. He insisted a good deal on the legality of the patent, and was afraid that bringing a *scire facias* against it in Ireland, or questioning it in the parliament here, would rather establish than avoid it. I told him, as to the first, that I was in hopes his majesty's answer, and the proceedings of our parliament, would in a good measure secure us, for the present at least, from the pernicious consequences of that patent; and that I saw no sort of occasion for a *scire facias*, unles it was intended, in all events, to establish it. As to the second, I thought he would consider how far that might be adviseable, and whither it might not create some uneasiness in a session which hitherto had, and I hop'd would continue to proceed with the greatest unanimity and quietness. He seem'd, in this particular,

ORIGINAL CORRESPONDENCE.

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ticular, to have overshot himself, at least to have intended to feel my pulse; but I had before given assurances that I would not attempt bringing it into parliament here, and had very good reason to believe other people would, at least not be at all displeas'd that it were done, upon an assurance that the house here might have had another opinion of that project than ours in Ireland express.

Wood's
Patent.

1724.

This is, as near as I can recollect; the substance of what past between us, which I have set down in the very order it was deliver'd, having taken notes of all that was said, as soon as I came home. Upon the whole, I am of opinion, this affair is far from being over, and that as soon as the parliament rises, something or other will be attempted, but what in particular, I do not pretend to guess.

From the subject of Mr. Wood's coinage, we past to that, which was the principal part of my errand, your affair, which I was advis'd only to talk of in general, without entering into particulars, or expecting a positive answer to any thing. In this, I found we entirely agreed, so that after having open'd the several steps taken by Fitzwilliams, &c. preparatory to the resolutions, and the certainty we had of his g——'s being at the bottom of the whole, (which however was denyed) I told him I was sure I need not remind him of the consequences which might attend the giving any countenance to such a proceeding, which every body here lookt upon as a contest between his majesty and the lords, and not between the lords and you. These were the very words of L. C. J. King us'd to me. I then mention'd the constant good affection of our family in general, and your's in particular, to his majesty's person and government; especially the services which he knew they did him last session here; and therefore concluded, that when they were fairly represented, as I did not doubt they would be, to his majesty, he would be graciously pleas'd to take them into his consideration, and that we entirely depended on his goodness and justice. I said something of myself, and that my principal errand was, by my behaviour in parliament, to convince his majesty and the world, that I had been most vilely misrepresented.

In answer to this, I was told, that however he might have been lookt upon as an enemy to our family, he never had done any act to disoblige any one of them; but on the contrary, had done us all the good offices he could, whenever it lay in his power. That he was sure he had never given my uncle reason to resent any thing, except it were his not being restor'd, as others were,

MEMOIRS OF SIR ROBERT WALPOLE.

Period III. to his employment, the beginning of the king's reign. That he was not then
1720 to 1727. in the administration, and therefore that could not be justly imputed to him,
 1724. and that since he was so, he had it not in his power to shew his regard for him. As to your particular, tho' he was sensible the putting you in the government, was ascrib'd to the interest of other people, yet he assur'd me, 'twas principally owing to him, for that unless his g—— had consented to it, the king would never have order'd it to be done, without removing him, which he was sure could not have been done. That he was the person who obtain'd his g—— consent, and that, not without great difficulty, being oblig'd to make it a point between them, and to put an old freindship, that had been between them, upon it. That after this affair was settled, he thought some trifling punctilio's, as not fending the order over under lord leutenant's cover, were unnecessarily insisted upon, and exprest himself with some warmth against a freind of your's, whom 'tis not proper nor necessary to name. He then made professions of the regard and good opinion he had of me, and of his having taken all opportunitys of shewing it, when I was last here, which indeed was in a good measure true; that he had endeavour'd to serve me in the affair of the sollicitorship, but was prevented by lord Sunderland's power; and concluded with general professions of regard to our family, that he would consider of what I had said, and lay it before the king. I told you before, I was instructed not to make any particular request, nor desire particular answers; the reason of which, I must not now tell you, and so our conversation ended.

I wont take up your time with making any reflections upon it, which you are much better able to do; but will in a few words tell you, my impartial opinion of your affair. You have certainly two or three very sincere freinds,

[•] The King, laid every thing in a full and true light before ——*. No body has yet declar'd themselves openly against you; and tho' I am not sanguine enough to beleive, as some of your freinds do, that no attempt will be made to lay you aside, yet I am of opinion, that you are upon a much better foot then you were last year, and that Fitzwilliam's and his wife freind's scheme, has been the luckyeast incident that could possibly have befallen you. 'Tis certain W—— interest, if employed against you, is very great; but I assure you, very far from being omnipotent, of which we have had very late proofs; and I cant beleive he will be brought to lay all his strength to do a particular injury to a family, who have never differv'd him, but have, and probably may have it in their

power

power to be of use to him; and all this to gratifye the private malice and pique
 of two or three the most inconsiderable wretches in the world. But what I
 cheifly depend on is his majestye's goodness and justice, who I have reason to
 know, has a good opinion of your's and my uncle's integrity and services, and
 will therefore not be prevail'd on to shew a particular mark of disfavour to a
 family, who, he is sensible, have upon all occasions, appear'd most signally in
 his interest, and without vanity, done him considerable service. I at first in-
 tended this letter only as a rough draught, but 'tis spun out to that unreason-
 able length, that I have not time, nor indeed am I able to write it over. You
 must therefore excuse the faults of it.

Wood's
Patent.

1725.

LORD CHANCELLOR MIDDLETON TO THOMAS BRODRICK.

Lord Carteret zealous in promoting Wood's patent.—Represents the natives averse to its reception.—The English cabinet inclined to delay the surrender, with the hopes of finally succeeding.—Those who oppose the patent accused of opposing the king.—Is determined to resign.—Mentions lord Carteret's surprise at that resolution.—Reproaches Walpole for insolence.

(Dublin, March 15, 1724-25.) MY letter of the 13th instant, which goes by the pacquet, will certainly come to your hand before this can; which the attorney general promises to deliver into your own hand as soon as conveniently may be after he gets to London. I think I can have noe doubt of the bearer's delivering this into your hands, and will therefore speak plainer English than otherwise I would venture to doe: yet not soe plain that every one else shall know my meaning as fully as you will. This you may depend upon, that the person who told you in soe solemn a manner, that all people would be left at their own liberty, &c. thought it either necessary or convenient for him to use every way he could think of, that nobody should make use of that liberty to which they were to be left: no carelesse were wanting to soften those who were supposed capable to be made pliant, nor was there any difficultye made of letting people know what was hoped (if not expected) from those who had dependancies, and what the consequences of being refractory might (nay would certainly) prove. Those who were against warm methods at the beginning were not in so good grace as those who either advised or were concerned in putting them in execution. To be short, I cannot but think that a certain person knew —* had the succeſſe of Wood's coyne soe much at * Carteret,
 heart,

Middleton
Papers.

MEMOIRS OF SIR ROBERT WALPOLE.

Period III. heart, that he was persuaded to undertake the business, as the man in the world most likely to effect it, and to deliver some people in London from the difficulties they have laboured under by means of this patent; and I confess it is my thought, that more zeal and industry could not have been used to attain this end, than was employed, if the success of it were to be attended with an entire restitution of the same favour and employment which he formerly enjoyed.

You may be sure those who were most zealous enemies to the project were first and most warmly applied to, and all they could be brought to was this: that they believed if the patent was surrendered by Wood before the meeting of the parliament, and thereby the fears and dissatisfactions of people were dispelled, gentlemen would not be fond of bringing that matter again on the carpet, notwithstanding all the hard treatment and ill language the nation had received; but that nobody would go into the giving any thing to Wood in nature of a compensation for giving up the patent. People seemed to hope, and promised to use their endeavours, that on this foot, matters of supply, &c. might goe on in the ordinary course; and I am convinced that a certain person after having spent some time in Ireland, became so far sensible of the temper of the kingdome, that he gave it to be understood in London as his sense, that no endeavours that had been used had in any sort reconciled men to the receiving that coyne, nor had influenced their meaner passions to an acquiescence in the pleasure of those who in this affair seem to me (at least) to act like our masters. I believe also, that he gave as little hopes of an easy session of parliament (unless the patent should be previously given up) as he reasonably might, and that he put the manner of attaining that end, and bringing that about upon the English ministry.

If my accounts from London be well grounded, they pretended stil to believe, that the granting the patent, and all that had been done by the lords to whose consideration Wood's petition was referred, and Woods his manner of executing the powers granted to him, and every thing done in England in this matter were right, and every thing done here had been wrong from the beginning; and that even giving Wood (but not in expresse words or by name to him) a compensation for his patent was not at all agreeable to those at the helm, and would look like a victory obtained by us here; and I fancy they insisted on Ireland's being contented with the king's not going farther to support the patent or create a currency for Wood's coyne then had been done already,

already, as enough to satisfye them; which is just what the order in countel
faith, and was signyfed to the late justices with directions to make it publick,
for which I refer you to some late papers delivered you by C. P. from me.

Wood's
Patent.
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It was matter of amazement to those with whom a certain person advised, and pretended to be much influenced by their advise, to be told every post, that no orders were come about declaring what the king intended to doe to remove the difficultyes which Ireland laboured under, from this patent's stil hanging over our heads: but so it was, only we were told, that there would be time enough before the meeting of the parliament; and that in the mean time no methods were used to bring them in upon us. Now I am pretty well convinced, that the satisfaction (which Mr. S. and others in London had written was ordered to be given to Ireland) meant no more then letting matters remain quiet till the meeting of the parliament; and I cannot but think that all hands have been at work to incline men to think it will be adviseable to go on in the ordinary course of granting supplyes, without an actual surrendar of the patent, or taking the least notice there ever had been such a thing in the world. However wild this scheme may seem to you, yet I am fully perswaded that it is hoped and expected a push will be made to go on with what they call the king's businesse, with all convenient dispatch, and if any thing of the halspence should be mentioned, to endeavour to postpone that till the other is finished, with full assurances of our having time enough for that and all other matters which relate to our countrey. I have good reasons to be strong of opinion (which I confess I was not of till very lately) that it is not in their thoughts to give up the patent before the session, but fairly to try whether people can be cajolled or discoursed into the measures from the other side prescribed to us; and as far as I can judge, there are some people here who give hopes, that this scheme will succeed: but I own I am not of the number; yet cannot find reasons strong enough to think I have convinced a friend of your's, that things will not answere expectation. It is very hard to perswade a man to believe that will come to passe, which he hath a mind to have never happen. When I have spoke my mind freely on this occasion, I have been asked who the people are who will create the opposition to things proceeding according to desire; and have been told that some people dare not after what they have done (whether it was meant in this particular or other matters I know not, but believe in other things which have come to the knowledge of a very discerning man) and that those who are not under any apprehensions from a sense of their

past

Period III. past actions (whom I understood by the term used, which was *others*) would
1720 to 1727. not oppose the king's affairs. You see that still not giving opposition to

1725. Wood is called the king's businesse, or that opposing the halfpence, is to oppose the king's businesse, and consequently those who will not oppose him are to be understood to doe it; as on the other hand, those who will stil' oppose that patent, are to be deemed obstructors of it. Nay so far have I heard matters carryed, that no one body in the king's service, in any station removable at pleasure, will be continued, who shall not proceed in the method **expected**, not excepting even the most honourable the privy council.

I was on Sunday at the castle, and delivered my lord lieutenant your letter of the ninth, by which he saw that Mrs. Duncombe's secrett about sir William Thomson was not so entirely new, but that I had notice of it from you. He seemed a good deal surprized at the later part of your letter, in which you tell me, you hope I am putting things into the best order I can for going into England, and told me it could not be reasonable to desire or expect a licence of absence soe near before the opening of the parliament. I told him I had no such thoughts; then saith he, you speak upon a supposition the king should dismiss you his service before that time (which I doe not beleive): to that I said, it was not unlikely I should attend the session in some capacitye, either public or private; and added, that offering the seal about from hand to hand till somebody could be found to take it up, was certainly intended to lessen me, and in great measure did soe: the former he allowed, but not in any sort the latter, and added, that my enemies could not think I had lost any honour in this whole affair, which had been so long between more than one ministry and me.

Carteret's. To conclude this tedious scrawle, I must tell you that my lord —* heart is bent on going through this session (as if there never had been such a thing as Wood's patent in the kingdome) and that he thinks I can, and shal be an obstacle to their designs. Thus far he doth me no injurye, for I have told him what I intend to doe in that matter; and hope I shal not be disappointed in it. But if he believes that the intimations given out that every body in the king's service shall be removed who will not comply, can incline me to quit, or be silent in the interest of my countrey, he entertains thoughts les honourable then I apprehend my conduct hitherto in this and other affairs, have given him reason to have of me. I confess that from his surprize at hearing what you mentioned in relation to my going over soon, and other circumstances, I

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cannot but apprehend, that his view is to have me passe the session on the woolfack, and there go through the drudgerye of it, and the reward (which I have been so long and so often told of) of my long faithful and powerful services, a *supersedeas*. When that comes, I shall cease to be the king's servant, but not his loyal subjeſt. But whenever that happens, it will in other people's opinions make me more master of myself and my own actions, than when I was in employment. But I have alway looked on the salary and perquisites of my office, as due to me for officiating in the chancery and elsewhere as chancellor; and I thank God I have alway thought myself at liberty to act, vote, and speak in parliament (as a lord) just in the fame manner, while I was on the woolfack as I should have done on one of the benches. I have now done, and am obliged to Mr. W.* for his honourable performance of all the promises he made me in England; but most particularly in providing me a successor of such eminencye as sir William T. is known to be. I will not be longer in the power of an infolent man, but will in a little time fave them the trouble of doing an act they have so often threatned me with, but for other reasons than good will towards me have deffered the execution of their indignation.

Wood's Patent.

1725.

* Walpole;

LORD CHANCELLOR MIDDLETON TO THOMAS BRODRICK.

Announces the departure of an express, conveying a letter from the lord lieutenant to the secretary of state, stating his request to resign the seal.—Motives for acting in that manner, and for not making a formal complaint of ill usage to the king.—Lord Carteret much distressed at his resolution to quit.

(Dublin, May 1, 1725.) THE exprefſe which went hence yesterday with a letter to the secretary of state, from my lord lieutenant to notifye that I had applyed to him, that his majestye would be pleased to give me leave to fur-ender the ſeal, will have delivered also to you mine of the 28th of April, by which you will ſee, that I resolved (in compliance to your repeated advice and that of my friends here) to lay down. Nobody was more warm or readier to give that advice, then the person, whose ſenſe in the matter of Mr. Wood's coyne, Mr. C. told you he had ſo much desired, but could not have by his being at that time out of town. From that and ſome expreſſions he lately uſed, I apprehend he may have entertained very vain expeſtations; and if

Middleton
Papers.

Period III. my conjecture be in any measure right, those probably must proceed from
1720 to 1727. some words which may have been artfully let fall by a certain person on your
1725. side of the water to him to bring him into measures, which the speaker of them
never had the least thought of making good. My last letter told you, that
possibly I might desire the trouble of you to deliver a memorial directly to
his majestye; but on considering that matter again, I thought it not advisable
to proceed that way, which would put me under great difficultyes as to the
maner of doing it. To have applyed to his majestye in blunt terms to have
leave to lay down the seal, without assigning any reason why I made that re-
quest, would naturally imply a disinclination to serve the king, of which I am
sure I am not capable: if I resorted to the common motives for making such
applications, indisposition of body and my advanced age, this would have
given some countenance to the revilings and lyes of Shimei, as if I acknow-
ledged myself incapable to serve the king in that office; whereas the truth is,
that I have health of body and strength enough to give me reason to believe,
I shall be able to discharge my duty on the woolfack this feffion, as well as I
ever did in any former. To have told the truth, which is, that tho' I am
sensible of as much abilitye of body and mind to goe through with the businesse
of parliament and the duty of chancellor, as I ever have been since I came into
that place; but I did think myself to have been soe ill treated, that I did
not look on myself in any fort obliged to run the risk of a fit of sicknesse after
the feffion, occasioned by the fatigues of the feffion. This would or might put
me upon explaining myself, whether I meant from — or the ministry, or
any others, and whom in particular; and I doe not think it prudent to be in
danger of making such explanations as I must make, if I tell plainly what I
resent (and I think very justly).

These reasons and the advice of my friends, made me content myself with
desiring my lord lieutenant to send no more in his letter, then that I attended
him on Wednesday, and desired him to lay before his majestye my humble
request, that I might have leave to surrender the seal; and instead of a letter
drawn by the secretary, founded upon such explanations as I had made about
my ill treatment at the time I waited on him, and which I then intended to
mention in my memorial to the king, and told him soe the night when I first
waited on him. The letter drawn by the secretarye shewed me the difficultyes
I should lye under, in such a maner, that I could never agree it should be
sent as prepared. .

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1725.

To say truth, I am far from thinking Mr. Tickel (who drew it) to have intended any unkindnesse to me in the draught (which mentioned ill treatment I had received in *England lately*) and that I found myself through want of health, and my great age, incapable to *discharge the duty of my office*. I never did, or can yet with truth say soe: but my real resolution is, that I will not wear myself farther out, or run the hazard of sicknesse by the pains I shall take on the woolfack, during the session, after the usage I have mett with; and when I know what I shall meet, when the purpose of those, by whose permission I yet continue in my employment, is effected by my assistance. But I believe the letter was directed to be drawn by my lord lieutenant in such a manner, that I might see how my resentment would look, as put into writing by Tickel, and I think he took this to be as good a method to dissuade me from using expressions of resentment, as persisting in giving me his expresse opinion to the contrary, which he fairly and strongly did. But I must be just to him in letting you know, that he sent Tickel's draught to me by Mr. Clutterbuck, who left it with me to correct, and alter, and amend as I thought proper. Since it was to contain my sense, he desired me to expresse it in my own words; and on the best considerations of some of my most faithfull and judicious friends, they and I thought it would be sufficiently understood by the world upon what motives I resigned, without expressing them, so I went to the castle, and desired the letter might go in general terms, and soe it is sent.

His lordship, I told you, was greatly shocked at the resolution I had taken; thought I gratifyed my enemyes in it, and should leave him under great difficulties to hold a parliament with a new chancellor, who might prove a person not to be confided in, nor perhaps able to give him much assistance.

LORD MIDDLETON TO THOMAS BRODRICK.

Alteration of measures since his resignation.—Hopes of government that no mention of the patent will be made in parliament.—His opinion, and conduct of lord Carteret on the business.

DEAR BROTHER,

Dublin, July 4, 1725.

FROM the repeated assurances you have given me lately, that our little correspondence is thought worth prying into, I chuse to send this letter by major Renouard, who tells me, he will without fail deliver it into Allye's hand; and when it once gets safe there, I make no difficultye of her being able to

Middleton
Papers.

Period III. convey it to you unexamined on your side of the water. We are now here
1720 to 1727. upon a new scheme of politicks, which is not to be much wondred at, con-
 sidering the late alteration at the castle, by my laying down, and another's suc-
 ceeding me. In consequence of which, you may be sure I am trusted in the
 same maner as undeferving, disgraced, or disobliged people alway are at court.
 I have all along acquainted you with every step I took to discourage my lord
 Carterett from entertaining hopes of having a quiet and easy fession here, un-
 lesse the parliament were satisfyed as to the matter of Wood's patent, for soe
 I rather chuse to call it, then Wood's halfpence, which I believe every body
 feeth can not obtain a currency here, by reason of the resolution of those for-
 merly in authoritye, and the constancy of the people in their determination
 not to take them voluntarily; and that his majestye's goodnesse and wisdome,
 will not admit of his using any compulsory means to make them passe. No
 man can entertain a thought or apprehension that his majestye will doe any
 thing inconsistent with the repeated declarations he hath made on this head.

But in my opinion, the tranquillitye and easinesse that the people hath shewn
 lately upon this matter, proceeds not from their being told, that the king will
 not doe any thing to oblige the taking that coyne, nor from the senfe they have,
 that nothing but compulsion will give it a diffused currencye in the kingdome;
 for his majestye's patent and declaration in councel, were as strong against
 using any compulsion to enforce that coyne on the nation, as any thing which
 hath hapened since his excellencye's landing, and the minds of the people were
 as well known to be very averse to receiving it voluntarily: nay, soe averse
 were they, that Mr. Wood and his friends were pleased to argue, that the people
 were on this score become disaffected to his majestye's government. But in
 my opinion, the seeming easiness men shew of late, by not talking at all about
 them, ariseth from an apprehension that some publick act will be done, or de-
 claration made at the opening of the parliament, which may render it unneces-
 sary to undeceive his majestye and the councel in England in a very mate-
 rial point, viz. whether there was such a want of copper coyne as was sug-
 gested to his majestye to be in this kingdome, without which suggestion, there
 could not have been a pretence for asking, or a ground for granting Mr.
 Wood those powers of coyning, which he hath by his patent. Mr. Wood, in-
 deed, was ready with his witnessses, to swear there was a want of such coyne, and
 had the good fortune to obtain credit in that matter, for want of witnessses to
 prove the contrary; for the senfe of both houses of parliament, and of the coun-
 cel

~~cel~~ board were not of sufficient weight to the contrary; upon this principle (if I do not mistake) that in matter of property, as Wood's patent is, the votes of either, or both houses, or addresse of the councel board are not legal evidence, much less conclusive.

Wood's
Patent.

1725.

But I doubt the parliament may be inclined to lay the truth of that fact in another light then it seems to me to stand at present on your side of the water; and perhaps they may fancy, that when a thing is of so national consequence, as knowing whether there be occasion for 14 tons of copper to be coyned into small money, to be current for above 100,000*l.* this matter might have deserved the consideration of the representatives of the kingdome, or at least to have been referred to the government and councel of it, and not to be finally determined at the treasury upon the testimony of persons, who might be either concerned in interest, that Wood might obtain a patent to coyne, or be procured by him and his friends. But my lord lieutenant seems to me, not to expect he shall receive any orders to mention either the patent or proceedings had either in England or here on that head at the opening of the parliament; and consequently that he shall not in his speech take any notice of that affair at all: and he also seems to believe other people will be perfectly silent on that point too, and proceed in granting supplyes, and other businesse of parliament (if there shal be any other) just as if there never had been such a man as Wood in the world, or as if no patent had been granted, or proceedings either in England or Ireland relating thereto.

If these be his real sentiments, I freely own to you, that I think he will be greatly mistaken. But I will now tell you my judgement on his conduct in this whole affair. I am well satisfyed that his own private judgement is, that the patent obtained in the maner this hath been obtained, and when the kingdome did not want (in reality) such a quantitie of small coyne as Wood, by his patent, is authorized to coyne, and without enquiring into the truth of that matter on this side of the water; I say that his opinion, I believe is, that the patent is legal (such a notion he seems to me to have of the king's prerogative) and that the king, by the law, is the judge of the conveniency to the kingdome in granting power to coyne such quantitie of base money, as he shal think proper; and that he is empowered to give currencye to a piece of copper for an halfpenny, which is not of such intrinsick value; allowing the necessary expences of coynage and other reafonable allowances. This I think to be his notion, but his good sense must tell him, that such a concession puts the subject very

MEMOIRS OF SIR ROBERT WALPOLE.

Period III. very much in the power of the prince, if he be the sole judge of the quantity
1720 to 1727. of copper to be coyned, and of what intrinsick value the piece to be coyned
1725. is to be of in proportion to the rate it is to goe att. But I have no reason to say, he thinks the king hath a right to inforse such base money to be received as current money by his subjefts; by which, added to the belief every body ought to have, that the crowne will not use its prerogative to the detriment of the subjeft, I apprehend, he thinks the subjeft to be fufficiently guarded against any great and grievous inconvenience from an excessive quantity of base coyne. 1. Becaufe we should not think so ill of the crown, as to believe it will for any private inducement, doe any thing which may be prejudicial to the nation in general. 2. That there being no necessity laid on the subject to receive this base money, they will be sure to refuse it, when there is a superfluitye of it; and then there will be an end of coyning, when the trash cannot be uttered or received as money.

But it is now time for me to proceed to unfold to you what I mean by our new scheme of politicks. You may remember the matter of Mr. Hackett's letter to me: and to speak plain English, I am of opinion, every thing is now kept perfectly a secret from my knowledge, which is realy intended; for fince I have from the beginning told lord C. that I always was, and alway must be against Wood's patent, in the whole and in every part, and never could be prevailed upon, either by the most artful and insinuating letters from England, or the great careffes used toward me upon his arrival to come into this darling affair (in which I do not find, but that his excellencye went as great lengths in the committee of counsel as any body) and fince the more cavalier methods taken by him soon after his landing to carry his point, had no more effect on me then his doucours, I plainly discovered in him a coldnesse toward me; he alway treated me with great civilitye, and as far as good words went, expressed himself to have a particular kindnesse for me. I should be glad to be able to give one instance of his favour, unlesse his constantly advising with me in the most ticklish and dangerous affaers to advise in, may be looked on as instances. From time to time I shewed him such parts of your letters as informed me of the manner I was treated in at a certain place, and told him I understood very well the meaning of those who sett the chace on foot, *viz.* that they who could not assign a ground for removing me, might put me on doing that from resentment, which they wished to be done, but were unwilling to doe professedly. He could not but know from my telling him what I heard

Heard (to all which he alway professed he was wholly a stranger) that I intended to lay down that which only made me capable of being insulted in the manner I had been, and I told him that I certainly would quit, if it continued, without desiring him to interpose, that I might have fairer quarter.

Wood's Patent.

1725.

Perhaps he did not think I was of so much mettle to doe what he afterwards found I dared and refolved to doe; or to speak my mind clearly; he refined thus. This man will never come into my schemes, but lord chief baron Hale will; let them proceed to worry M—— and let him be angry and throw up, and then I shall have opportunitye of bringing Mr. Hale into his place to have a chancellor as obsequious, as his predecessor hath been untractable. And I must needs say, that upon the best consideration of things which I have been able to give them, my thoughts are, that for some time it hath been wrote by lord C. that its not to be expected things will doe in parliament here, without giving the people satisfaction in the matter of Wood's patent, and I believe he hath set that out soe strongly as to convince the ministry. I am also apt to believe, that to bring them into the king's giving him instructions, or power to give the parliament satisfaction in that particular, he may have given hopes, nay assurances of being able on those terms to obtain great supplyes, and indeed, of not being disappointed in any thing that is not very unreasonable in point of money, if men's minds can be made easy about the patent. But I am of opinion, that he hath desired to be left at liberty, not to mention it in his speech, out of hopes that nobody will mention the patent in parliament; but if it be stirred, and the parliament shew a spirit, that he may then have the patent in his power to qualifie their heats, and by this means he will come at the knowledge of the bold men who shall venture to appear in the service of their countrey, and not worship Baal, upon whom I have reason to believe, as great marks of resentment will be shewn, as men deserve, who having em- ploiments, doe not act as they are bid.

LORD MIDLETON TO THOMAS BRODRICK.

Apprehensions of government left the affair of Wood's patent should be brought into parliament by his means—and hopes that by his assistance things may remain quiet.—Inutility of the measures proposed.—Suspicious that lord Carteret is thwarted by the English ministry.—Necessity of satisfying the people by annulling the patent.

DEAR

MEMOIRS OF SIR ROBERT WALPOLE.

Period III.

1720 to 1727.

1725.

Midleton
Papers.

DEAR BROTHER,

Dublin, July 17, 1725.

I Continue still (as my wife once called me humorously enough) vice chancellor to Mr. West, who is not yet landed, nor possibly may in two or three dayes, if his being unwilling to ride over the mountains of Wales, or any other consideration hath determined him to come directly from Chester water, and not ride to Holyhead: the wind is now at West and may continue longer soe than he is aware of; but the captain of the yatcht will be able to tyde it down to the head, and when he gets soe far, will be able to make his passage thence at least, as well as any of the pacquet boats. Before you receive this, I hope M. R. will have delivered into your hands a long letter of three sheets, which I at first intended to have sent to you under Allye's cover, but altered my measures, because it would then have gone first to Peperhara before you received it. I shal be very uneasy till I have your answer to each part of it, as well publick as private. Tho' I have not received a line from you since your's of the second instant, yet I am sensible you have had one from me, because my lord C. takes notice of mine to him which went under your cover. In it, he speaks to this effect, that he hopes I will continue to make use of my interest to keep things quiet here. This caution of his to me, certainly arises from his having been told from this side, that such methods have been taken, to prevent the matter of Wood's patent being brought upon the stage in our approaching parliament, as will attain the end, if I doe not appear in the matter, and concert measures about it, and sett it on foot.

As for my part in the affair, I am kept entirely a stranger to what is intended, if any thing has been determined: nay I am told my lord hath not yet any orders in that particular, but he stil seems to hope that matter (*with my assistance*) will rest, and that the session will goe on very smooth without mentioning or thinking of the copper money. I have alway told him he would find his mistake too late, and that unlesse men's minds were made easy in that particular, it would certainly be taken up by somebody; and when it should be soe, that it would not be in the power nor inclination of his sincere friends to stop things from going farther then would have satisfyed men's minds at the opening of the session. To fancy telling the houses from the throne, that the king will not doe any thing to inforce a currencye of that coyne, is no more then the patent speaks, and is contained in the report of the committee of cbuncel and the king's order of councel thereupon. This I think will be soe far from preventing the parliament entring into the consideration

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of that matter, that it seems to me to furnish an handle to those who have a mind to bring the affair on the carpet. And I confess my thoughts to be, that there will appear more gentlemen in the matter then seems to be expected.

Wood's Patent.

1725.

I am very doubtful that encouragement is given from your side to the people confided in here to create my lord C. all the difficulties possible in the session, and if a story be true, which I lately heard from noe ill hand, he will find not only little assistance, but hearty opposition from a quarter whence it seems to be little apprehended. Now methinks you might, as you are going toward Peperhara, call on a gentleman* who lives a very little out of the road, and tell him that which I have often endeavoured to persuade his friend to be the truth of the case, that (unlesse it be resolved in England) that we shal speak our minds freely in what maner the nation hath been treated in the matter of Mr. Wood from the beginning to the end in the plainest maner, as well as in procuring and passing the patent, as how the parliament, privy counsel, and nation have been us'd, &c. I fay, if this be not the wish of people, some step should be made to quiet men's minds, that neither this patent nor any obtained for the private benefit of any body without the application of the kingdome, or soe much as acquainting the government and council of this kingdome, that it was suggested that there was a want of copper money, or directing the truth of that fact to be inquired into, in Ireland; shal be used or put in practice. But if the long step taken at the T— in granting the patent upon such information as preceded the obtaining this, must in all events be supported, and made a point of prerogative, I cannot but think the parliament will look on their property to be touched too nearly by such a position as justifies the manner of obtaining and granting this patent, not to doe their best to prevent their falling into misfortunes, which they believe will follow from this point being once insisted on in the manner it hath been (in my opinion) unlesse it be receded from. I know how difficult a thing it is, to bring great people to doe all that will be wished on this occasion: but I now write while there is time to doe what may prevent warmth in our approaching session; and I confess I do not see that any thing lesse then what I have hinted at, can attain that desirable end.

* Sir Peter King.

This, this, is the way and the only one I can think of having things proceed smoothly in parliament: till we were blessed with a bank and a copper patent, every thing proceeded quietly here: the people gave what was demanded to support the establishment, nay ex abundanti encreased their own expence by an

Period III. addition to the pay of the troops. But when they found their money was going into private pockets (I mean the projectors of the bank and Mr. Wood and his partners) they could not digest those proceedings. Methinks you may better discourse this matter where it is proper, then that it should be done in a letter directly to the party; in which I should not be fond of speaking my thoughts soe plainly as to the king's prerogative and the proceedings at a certain place where you were a witnesse of what passed, as I reasonably may when I write privately to one whose estate lies in this countrey, and to whom I have soe near a relation as I have to you; in whom I entirely confide, that you will make no other use of what I write, than to consider whether what my thoughts on this subject are, may be of any service to the king and this poor countrey in the very difficultyes we lye under. For it is certain, nothing can be soe fatal to our happinesse, as to lye or fall under the displeasure of the king, or the resentment of the ministry. Now unless something can be done to prevent the heats, which I think will unavoidably happen in our parliament, if it open without giving better satisfaction about Mr. Wood's coyne then (I fear) hath been yet given, I confess I have a very melancholy prospect of the successe of the seffion.

LORD MIDDLETON TO THOMAS BRODRICK.

Conjectures that lord Sunderland was the original author of Wood's patent, and thence accounts for the zeal with which lord Carteret promoted it.

Middleton
Papers.

(Dublin, August 15, 1725.) WHEN Wood's patent was heard of first, I cast about to find who was the person for whose benefit that worthy project was sett on foot, and truly the first way my thoughts turned, was to consider, whether this might not spring out of a former patent, granted to alderman Knox, the interest of which came to the late earl of Arran; and I did fancy this might have taken its rise from that root, especially when I considered the relation there is between those who are descended from lord Arran's heiresse, and some persons in very considerable power at the time of the passing that patent. Under this mistake, I continued, till a friend* of yours, who is now on the continent, gave me an account from the court † where he was at that time, that a certain person ‡, to whom I recommended him, and who allowed him familiar access, seemed to espouse the patent in a warmer manner then I did believe he would have done, as a matter which was undoubtedly the king's

* Alan Brodrick.

† Hanover.

‡ Lord Carteret, probably.

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prerogative, &c. I then began to suspect that my first conjecture was wrong, and that any person representing lord Arran or their friends had the projecting or bringing the scheme to the perfection it came afterward. And I doe confess, that the judgement given by Solomon about the true mother of the child (which was grounded upon the real concern which appeared in one of the contending partyes, to prevent the death of the child) hath influenced me a good deal in my opinion, that the friends of those who seem not to have half soe much concern for the event of this affair, as another person seems to me to have shewn for several months past, are not so much at the bottom of it, as I once believed, and that this was the offspring of one (who is now in his grave) and for that reason, as well as to keep well with those who are to gett by it, hath been strenuously supported by his surviving friend. Of the truth of his endeavours to support it, I need no proofs, but am to seek for a reason for a wise man's doing it; soe far as I think this hath been carryed, unlesse there were some very strong reason to induce him to doe all in his power to endeavour it. This is most certain, that Mr. W——* disclaimed, and doth • Walpole. disclaim having any hand in it, or other notice of it while it was in agitation, then such as he necessarily must have by his office, and I have it from a good hand, that he declares he all along was in his judgement, and declared himself against the thing as very unreasonable in itself.

What I have already wrote, I intend as a foundation for my following conjecture, that all methods have been hitherto taken, and I believe will be used to have the fall as easy as possible; and perhaps the security of this poor country from any ill consequences which it may fall under by means of this patent, or from such a precedent, may be thought of lesse concern to be remedied, than the covering what hath passed in the manner of obtaining this grant. This consideration may lead you into conjectures, what is advised from the friends of the patent here, by which I think those on your side of the water will a good deal be guided in their measures to quiet this affair. How far such endeavours to cover, &c. will attain the end aimed at, which is said to be to quiet the minds of the people by giving them reasonable satisfaction, &c. I doe not know, but of this I am certain, that a friend of your's seemed to me to be in great warmth, when I discoursed with him last on this subject, and seemed to think the actual surrender of the patent would be insisted on; I say, I observed a great deal of heat and dissatisfaction as far as I could judge, by the manner in which he deportred himself, and some expressions which

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Period III. dropt. You will take your own measures as to your resolution contained in
1720 to 1727. yours of the 3d (which is the latest I have received from you) and will consider,
 1725. when you know from your friend in London, what will be done, whether that will in your opinion be safe, and to the satisfaction of rational men, who really have the good of their country, and not their own private interests in view, and take your measures accordingly. But the time is coming on very fast, and what will be done, will be (I think) at the very beginning of the session, when not one man of the standing troops will venture to be absent (on pain which may ensue) and a vote then will determine the fate of this affair, and I think of our country too in consequence.

LORD MIDLETON TO THOMAS BRODRICK.

Declares that nothing less than an actual surrender of the patent will avail.

DEAR BROTHER,

Dublin, August 19, 1725.

Midleton
Papers. BY a letter which I received lately from the person at Chester, under whose cover I have sent my letters to you at Bath lately, I have reason to believe that most of mine are come to your hand, which went that way, because my correspondent owns the receipt of them, and assures me, they from time to time were forwarded by the crosse post. I have given you the best and earliest accounts from hence, that I can learn; for you may be sure I am kept entirely in the dark as far as possible; and yet there is not a movement they make, or any scheme undertaken by them, but comes some way or other to my knowledge.

I have already told you, that Mr. C—— came to me on the day I took physick, and by that means could not attend at the castle according to appointment, altho' I promised to doe soe, and that the main of his busesse was to take my opinion, whether nothing would doe but giving up the patent; and the answer I made, that in November last, I had, with the privity of my lord lieutenant, discoursed several gentlemen to know their mind and resolution in that particular, who had all unanimously declared their sense to be, that nothing but an actual surrender and giving up of the patent could prevent that affair being mentioned in parliament; which was also my opinion at that time, and that I knew not that any one of them had altered his thoughts since, and believed they had not, nor had I altered mine. Prodigious industry hath been used to fosten this affair, as to the maner, and I must tell you, that the person

person to whom your last letter seems to impute your not closing with Dr. Hackett for the purchase of a certain farm, wrote to me lately to this purpose, that for his part he thought a declaration from a certain place, that we should never be troubled with the halfpence, would be satisfactory to him; but that he was white paper, and if convinced that was not sufficient, should be guided by his friends; but said, he supposed it was not intended nor expected he should take the lead.

Wood's
Patent.

1725.

If you turn to my letters, you will find one dated in November, which contains an account of a conversation between half a dozen gentlemen of figure, who dined at my house with the privyey of my lord lieutenant, that I might know what their sense was as to the maner of putting people's minds at ease about Wood's patent; and you will there find, that not one of them thought of any thing lesse then an actual surrender and giving up the patent. Upon this point, I all along insisted, and was accordingly treated; the same letter will also tell you the names of gentlemen who agreed in that opinion, no one dissenting. I believe the English air really hath effect on most of our countrymen, who goe over; and I doe assure you, it hath had very great influence on several, particularly on your tenant, and the gentleman of whom I gave you caution, under the character of a person very ambitious; of which he gave you a sample in his discourse, whether the matter of the halfpence should be entred upon before other businesse.

My last letter to you by the crosse post, of which the whole superscription is in my own hand (whereas in others I leave it to Mrs. Kenna to superscribe) tells you how active — is to ward against an actual surrender being declared from the throne, or being made, if I understand him right. But I fancy that point will be got over; but am sure it will be with the utmost reluctance and regret. But I now hear we are to have the old way of accounts being laid before the parliament, which was condemned in the session in 1703; for which we sent sir William Robinson to the castle, and voted him incapable of any public emploment, revived. His fault consisted in this; in striking a ballance, by which the debt of the nation appeared to be one hundred and three thousand and odd pounds more then it would have been, if credit had been given for cash in collector's hands, and for several solvent branches of the revenue, that were not then collected. I should be sorry any thing of this kind should be revived now, or endeavoured to be brought again into practice, because I think the attempt will not succeed, and a disappointment will

not

Period III. ~~1720 to 1727.~~ not be at all for my lord lieutenant's honour; or if it should succeed, I think it will be extremely hurtful to the kingdom. I hear a certain person approves the thing extremely, and that the officers who are to prepare the papers to be laid before the parliament, have directions to draw the demand at full, without giving the nation credit for some things, which I doubt the parliament will think ought to have been brought to credit. This is an odd passage, but I verily think there is something in it, and sure you had some hint of it, when you say in a late letter, that if you find schemes are framing to bring us into such a debt as must ruin the nation, you will come over to give your assistance to prevent it. For God's sake (without the loss of one post) write to London for a copy of Wood's last petition, which was referred to the committee of council, and upon which they made the report, which was the foundation of the order about the commissioners of the revenue recalling their orders, and the lords justices publishing the king would not enforce that coynage; for much depends on it.

LORD MIDDLETON TO THOMAS BRODRICK.

Surrender of the patent communicated to the council.—Proceedings and joy thereupon.—Difficulties to be apprehended about the manner of addressing the king.—Is inclined to promote the supplies.

Middleton
Papers.

(Dublin, Aug. 27, 1725.) YESTERDAY morning my lord lieutenant's private secretary monsieur Balaquier came to my house to acquaint me Mr. Edgecumbe was landed, and had brought dispatches concerning a matter of consequence; and that my lord intended to impart the news first to me; to which end he was ordered to call on me, and tell me his excellencye desired to see me at the castle as soon as I could this evening. Before he came I had received my friend's letter of the 14th inclosed in yours of the sixteenth from the Bath. But by the by, whoever recommended that messenger, would hardly have thought him a proper person, if he had been privy to the import of your letter; for that gentleman withdrew from Ireland to avoid being examined as to his knowledge how far a certain great man knew of, or was concerned in the procuring or supporting that patent: I mean he who said, that lord M. was at length turned out. If opportunity offers, you or any friend of mine may say his favorite patent is brought to an end, notwithstanding all the methods taken to reconcile people to it.

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The matter was imparted to me at the castle under the greatest confidence, as not having been communicated to any body before; but I could not conceal its being no news to me, who had an account from another hand; and I can no more conceal from you, that I mett the speaker coming out of the castle just as I came into the yard, but possibly it was not told him. My lord imparted the thing to the councel, which was said (by the summons) to be called on extraordinary businesse. Every body, you may be sure, was extremely delighted with the news, and they seemed to me to shew most joy, who had hitherto never given that project any avowed opposition. But the speaker's zeal carryed him soe far, as to use this over rhetorical expression, that he believed God Almighty inspired *the ministry*, who advised his majestye to the measures he had taken to have the patent furrendred, and, as I understood, he said, he rose to congratulate or give thanks in the name of *all the people* (the last words he actually used) and should propose an addresse of thanks to his majestye, if he were not sensible that would more properly be moved elsewhere, and I think, ventured to undertake for one, if not both houses of parliament, that the thing would be done. Which put me in mind of a passage in one of Shakespeare's playes, where Owen Glendower (a proud Welchman) in a rant said, that at his birth the skyes were all on fire, to which Harry Piercy answered with just contempt, that soe they would have been, if his mother's catt had kittened at that time.

My lord lieutenant, you may be sure, represented the thing in the strongest terms as a great condescension, and an act of great goodness in his majestye; and this I think might reasonably be expected to be his style, but the archbishop gave it the term of a piece of justice done by his majestye to this kingdome. I confess that I apprehend the truth lies (as it often doth between disputants) in the middle, and that neither of them was in the right (to speak the real truth) if they confined their thoughts to the narrownes of the expref-
sions by them used. For my part, I doe think the easing the kingdome of that patent, was an act which the king owed in justice, and which they might with modestye hope from his majestye's tender regard for, and affection to them. But I doe not think that the king was in any way obliged in justice to take those methods, which brought Wood of his own accord, without a judgement against the patent, to furrender and give it up. And this certainly was a condescension in his majestye, and a great act of his goodness, and a strong instance of that gracious disposition towards this kingdome, which ought to remove

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MEMOIRS OF SIR ROBERT WALPOLE.

Period III. remove all fears of his entertaining any other thoughts of us, then as of a very
1720 to 1727. loyal part of his dominions, to say noe more.

1725. My lord lieutenant told me yesterday, he resolved not to make the speech on the 7th of September, but that the houses shall meet then, and the commons issue writs for new members, and the new peers and bishops be introduced; and that then the houses shold adjourn for a week or ten dayes, that the kingdome might, previous to the meeting of the parliament, be acquainted with the patent being laid aside. I foresee some difficultye, that I doubt will arise about the maner of addressing. Every body will with great duty and gratitude own his majestye's goodnesse in what hath been now done; but how that will be done soe as not to give offence by mentioning the redresse to have arisen upon the addresses of the houses, complaining of the patent (which perhaps will not be liked) or else by making the thing a meer act of grace and favour, to which this strong objection may be opposed, that the parliament hath, by their several addresses, mentioned this patent (in the maner it was obtained) to have been unprecedeted, and very prejudicial to the kingdome; to which his majestye hath answered, that the patent he granted to William Wood, was what his ancestors had from time to time done, &c. These are not his words; but by my sence, he by his answer claims it to be his right to grant a patent in the same maner, and upon the same information he granted this; and truly he hath been told all was right, that the kingdome wanted small money, and that his majestye had not been misinformed, &c.; but I confess these are not the words of a certain report, but I take it to be the sence of it. If then we own the procuring the patent to be surrendred to be an act of grace and favour; is not that an allowance, that in justice it might have been insisted upon as duly obtained and granted? and if that be soe will it not be in the power of the crown at any time hereafter to doe the same thing? though I am perswaded, since this experiment hath hitherto had so ill succeſſe, and met ſoe ſtrong opposition, I doe apprehend, the boldest minister will not think it ad- viceable ſoon to ſteer the ſame course.

But there ſeems to me an appearance that people may differ as to the merit of the thing. Some will believe they doe all that can be reasonably ex- pected from them, if they forgett what is past (and that hath been a great deal) and proceed to businesſe, and give ſuch ſupplyes as they ſhould have judged reaſonable, if the day of paſſing Wood's patent had been (as Job wished the day of his birth had been) not joined to the dayes of the year. But if I ap- prehend

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prehend things right, it is hoped and perhaps expected, that in the joy of our hearts for this great condescension, we shall supply very liberally, and perhaps be less strict in scanning and looking into money matters. But the archbishop put the thing in this light the other day; a man (saith he) throws me into a mill pond, and then pulls me out of it, all over wett: hath he done ~~me~~ a favour, taking the matter altogether? I own, if we can steer clear of the difficultyes arising from the maner of addressing, I shal be inclined to wink at any tolerable exceeding in the supply, without enquiring with eagle's eyes, what is to be done or hath been done with the money. If I should suspect that it went a certain way, I shall consider whether in prudence we are obliged to be too inquisitive, and to put this difficultye on gentlemen who wish well to their countrey, to make them alway obnoxious, and give others opportunitye of confirming the great men in England, that they (and they only) now (as formerly) support the king's interests. If you think I am wrong in this, you must not judge by the rules men are to take, who expect to live in this world with any quiet; but I cannot say, that I think the thing strictly right. Farewell. I assure you, I am glad the thing is so well over. Pray God so unreasonable a supply be not pushed for, as may divide us more then we have yet been.

LORD MIDDLETON TO THOMAS BRODRICK.

Confers with lord Carteret about wording the address of thanks.—Is determined to act with moderation and respect to the king.

(Dublin, September 16, 1725.) I Had executed my promise to you in part, before I received your last, by declaring I would with the greatest softnesse and duty to his majestye, acknowledge his goodnesse in easing us from the apprehensions and fears we lay under from Wood's patent, by his majestye's interposing soe far as to have the patent resigned and surrendred. But at the same time, I infisted on it, that we should say it was done upon the humble representation laid before his majestye by the parliament. The person with whom I discoursed seemed much to dislike the later words, but was for our saying, that the royal condescension and goodnesse of the king in procuring the patent to be surrendred, filled the hearts of his subjects with a deep sense, &c. and that the actual surrendre, &c. had given us entire satisfaction.

Midleton
Papers.

Period III. Much stresse was laid on this, that it would not be said in the speech that it was
1720 to 1727 the meer condescension and goodnesse of the king; but I could not understand
1725. that condescension (without any other word) meant any thing but meer
 condescension, or goodnesse any thing but pure goodnesse. I could not but
 observe great anxiety in the person with whom I conversed on this affair:
 and I with all possible earnestnesse intreated that room might be left us who
 wished as well to his majestye as any people in this or any other of his do-
 minions, to join in the addresse, because, unlesse it were an unanimous one,
 it would not be soe graceful, nor really soe much for his majestye's service,
 as if it was the unanimous act of every member of the respective houses, as I
 thought, it would or (at least might be) if notice were taken that in condescen-
 sion to the supplications and representations of his parliament, his majesty had
 been pleased to interpose so as to obtain a voluntary surrendar of Wood's
 patent, and thereby had removed all causes of apprehension from any dangers
 which might fall on this kingdome by means of itt.

Every body feeth what the difference in the distion is; and with what
 views one seems to be insisted on by some, and to be disliking to others. I
 know not what the event will be, but he with whom I talked seemed confi-
 dent of succeeding in the method he liked best, but at the same time to tell
 you the plain truth, I have *great reason* to doubt it. Time will try; for
 Tuesday draws on apace, and that night will give a shrewd light into the suc-
 cesse of this session, which I will endeavour to render an easy one, yet still
 with a reserve that the snake that seems now to be frozen to death, may not
 hereafter be found to have so much life left in him, as will enable him to sting
 us to death. I think very much depends on the prudence and temper of the
 houses in this great event; and I assure you I will set guard on my lips that
 I offend not with my tongue. The ill treatment I have received shall not urge
 me to doe any thing from resentment, to the differvice of my prince or the
 prejudice of my countrey; and I resolve to have a strict watch over the
 warmnesse of my temper, and not to permit it to carry me into any thing
 which is not perfectly consistent with the rules of virtue and duty. But still
 my main point is to steer clear of any thing which will in consequence be pre-
 judicial to this kingdome; and in these points I am unalterably fixed and de-
 termined.

LORD MIDDLETON TO THOMAS BRODRICK.

Wood's
Patent.

1725.

Is coldly received at the castle.—Conduct of lord Carteret explained.—Justifies himself against imputations of ingratitude.

(Dublin, November 17, 1725.) I Have not been at the castle since Sunday, when I was looked on very coldly, soe that considering how much worse matters have gone since that time, I have no great ground to hope being better looked on when I go thither next then I was on Sunday. I was not thought worthy to be spoken to on Sunday, about what would or should be done the next day, tho' Harry Boyle was conducted into the closet by the bishop of Limerick, and immediately followed by —. When he came out, we found it was to endeavour to divert the storm the next day, or to gett light into what was intended to be moved by the countrey gentlemen. But no impression could be made on our countreyman.

Midleton
Papers.

Extract.

To come to a conclusion. I labour under very opposite passions, joy that my countrey is (I hope) delivered from that which its representatives thought would be very pernicious, and concern for the uneasinesse which (I believe) a disappointment hath given —,* and least the ill successe here may have a farther influence on him elsewhere, I will in few words tell you my thoughts about him, which must go no farther. He was at the beginning possessed with an opinion of the legalitye and innocencye of the patent as no way hurtful to us. He was as deep in the content of parliament, justices, and council, and whole kingdome, as any one lord of the cockpit; he thought reducing the summe to be coyned to 40,000*l.* was a matter of great grace and favor, and might have been represented in such a maner here, as that the summe would have been willingly received. He came over with an opinion that the justices had been remisse in laying before the country the matter of reducing the summe to 40,000*l.* and hoped by his addresse, to have reconciled people to it, or if they should be refractory, to have made it understood, that it would not be for the service of those who made opposition. At his first coming, he gave himself an air of letting people see he expected to meet no opposition, or to surmount all he should meet, and of making those who were so hardy to give opposition, repent it. I believe the prosecution intended against the Drapier's (bad) letter, was intended to intimidate him or any other person from writing on the subject of Wood's copper coyne, and not only for those things which every body allowed the paper to be faulty in; and this I believe from particular rea-

Period IX. sons. He found (in a while after the grand jury had refused to present the letter, and after he saw in what maner the discharging the grand jury was re-

1720 to 1727
1725. fended) that the temper of the whole people was averse to Wood's coyne, and that it was not a faction or party only raised against it, that there was a necessitye to doe something to pacifye people's minds; but saw the method prescribed to the justices (to publish the reduction of the whole summe to 40,000l.) would be of no avail. His next thought was to order the judges of assize to assure the country in their circuits, and to satisfye the people the halfpence would not be brought in among them: and this they did so far, that the countrey seemed easfy and not to be under much concern on that account; but that proceeded from an opinion they had, that the patent would be called in or given up before the meeting of the parliament. Whereas it is very possible he expected the parliament might be brought together, and meet in such a temper as (if the halfpence were not brought into the kingdome, nor the patent given up) it might remain in being, and all that had been done would have been passed over in silence. It is true, that —— read part of a letter to me, which (as it was read) seemed to me to impart, that it was his opinion, the patent must be given up. But matters were so ordered between your side of the water and this, that we heard nothing of the resolutions taken in England till August last, when the parliament was sitting, and what passed then you well know. Then the giving up the patent, and his majestye's part in it, must be represented as matter of condescension and royal favor (against which I advised, apprehending it was meant as a shooing horn for attaining some things which could not with any good grace have been insisted on otherwise) and I much doubt, some hopes if not assurances, have been given by —— that something very satisfactory to the persons who had obtained that boon should be found out. This, I fear, is at the bottom; and if it be, the disappointment will be as far fatal as the loosing the support of the persons who expect, can be soe. Adieu.

The succeſſe at the beginning of the ſeffion in carrying the words royal fa-
vour and condescenſion, in the addrefſe to his majestye, and of ſupplying the
deficiencyes in that to my lord lieutenant, gave, I believe, ſuch hopes, that it
was believed nothing could be propoſed that would not be carried; but men
ſhould diſtinguiſh between general expreſſions of compliment in addrefſes, and
votes for taxing the nation: men weigh the later more before they come into
them then they doe the former.

I will not conclude this without telling you, that a gentleman of my ac-
quaintance,

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quaintance, who hath a friend very converfant at the castle, tells me his friend informed him that the common topick of discourse at the castle is the obligations lord ——* hath laid on lord M—— and that all these disappointments are owing to the later. I asked him whether lord M. was taxed with having * Carteret. promised any thing which he did not perform, he said not. I have often heard M. say he owed great obligations to lord C. and I am sure he never did nor ever will disown them: but I have reason to believe he never could think it just, honourable, or handsome, to pay a personal debt of gratitude, by acting in a publick trust contrary to that which in his judgement, was expected from him by, and was due to the publick. But lord M. thinks it is not prudent to tax him in this maner, as if he were the cause of all that is taken amisse. Surely if the things expected were in themselves reasonable, the management of affairs is in soe able hands, that they would have been made appear to be soe; and if that had been done, what interest of any particular person could in a reasonable thing prevail against right, when all honest men, all the ministry, and dependants and expectants of all sorts, are taken into the number? What arguments could one private man use to these persons to overballance those on the other side? But from the time I declared myself in November 1724, to be against giving any advice, till the patent was surrendered, I have not observed that I ever was so happy to be able to propose or advise any one thing which was thought fit to be followed. Farewell.

Wood's
Patent.

1725.

Intended dedication of the Drapier's letters.—Endorsed in lord Midleton's hand-writing.—“*This paper was left at my house in my absence on 20 Sept. and brought to me by one of my servants while I was at dinner in the presence of my son, Mr. Wall, and Mr. Slatery. I ordered the servant to tell the man who left it, that I would not by any means consent to the dedication of the Drapiers to me, and if done, would complain of the printer.*”

TO THE RIGHT HON. ALAN, LORD VISCOUNT MIDLETON.

MY LORD,

YOU have so signally interested your self in asserting the dying liberty of your country, that to offer the following papers to any other, would be the greatest injustice I could possibly be guilty of to your lordship's character, which must attend the fame of the greatest sovereigns that have adorn'd the

Midleton
Papers.

British

Period II.

1720 to 1727.

MR. JOHN CAMPBELL TO SIR ROBERT WALPOLE.

On the temper of the people of Glasgow.—Conclusion of the riot.—Combination of the brewers at Edinburgh.

1725.

SIR,

Edinburgh, July 31, 1725.

Campbell Papers. I Am very sensible that you have accounts from much better hands, of the situation of affairs in this country. But as they happen to be at present in my poor opinion, of that consequence, as to deserve the attention of the government, I hope my laying the present map of the country before you, will not be misconstrued. The present temper of the people of Glasgow, from whence all the ferment took its rise, is a very odd one. When the general * Wade. and my lord advocate † Forbes. went thither to enquire into the authors of the barbarous riot there, they indeed found some people who condemned the mob; but they found a combination among the citizens to conceal the actors, and they found nobody in authority there, had been at the least pains to make discoveries. The honour of the government was concerned in punishing these magistrats publickly: I believe it was for that reason they were brought in here as prisoners, but the behaviour of the lords of justice, especially the lord justice Clerks, in relation to these gentlemen, has had the effect to render them yet more insolent then ever. When they came hither, they were accompanied by a great number of their inhabitants, who, by their upbraiding of our people in this place, as betrayers of the interests of their country, whose submission to the law would have the effect of wreathing the unsupportable burden of the malt tax about their necks, so spirited the people, that in a few days after, we heard of a criminal combination entered into among our brewers, neither to give security for the duty of stock on hand, nor to brew one drop after the first of them was summoned to appear before the justices, in order to be decerned for that purpose.

Mr. Dundas is the spring, to which the success of their sowing sedition is owing. The gentlemen who accompanied the magistrats being mostly the tools he had employed to overturn the magistracy of Glasgow at the election, and they now served him as so many guards upon them, to prevent their being spoke to by any body, but such persons as would cherish them in their madness. The poor unhappy gentlemen themselves, while upon their way, were resolved to have thrown themselves upon the mercy of the government, and by a letter which

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which I saw, to their recorder here, commanded him to present an application to the lord advocate for that purpose; but Mr. Dundas waited to receive them at the gate of the prison, and soon prevail'd with them to committ themselves implicitly to him. Their success before the court of justicery was triumphed in as a victory over the government. And to ridicule their coming out of Glasgow as prisoners, two of them, who went home next day after they were bailed, being met upon the road by a great number of inhabitants, they re-entered Glasgow in a chaise, amidst the acclamations of the croud, and with bells ringing, being preceeded by all the gray horse in the company, and followed by the black. I submitt itt to you, whether it may not be for the service of the government, and the quiet of the countrey, that these gentlemen be called up to London to answer for their conduct, and that very soon too, since they think themselves above being punished in this countrey, and I am affraid not unjustly, considering the present frenzy that prevails. It's very possible the doing this would have a very good effect on other towns.

It's true the provost and other three magistrats, who went home some days after, went in very privately, the practise of the other's having been disapproved of, even by their abettors here; but the people of that place are as seditious in their behaviour now as ever, and infuse sentiments wherever they have access, destructive of the quiet of the countrey. They have but too well succeeded here, for Mr. Dundas and they have wrought up our people to a belief, that submission to the law is the ready way to cutt themselves short of their relief from a tax, which, in their present situation, their trade can not bear; and has rivetted them, I am affraid, in a resolution neither to give security for the duty, nor to brew, if they are judicially called upon for payment.

These poor men, however criminal their combination is, are very much to be pitied; their advisors are more guilty then they: my lord advocate thought so, and therefore, while general Wade was bringing troops together to preserve the peace of the place, if any thing should fall out, he left no means un-effayed, that the witt of man could suggest to bring them out of their delusion; but all was in vain, they had given themselves up to Mr. Dundas, body and soul. He from time to time gave them assurances, they were safe in keeping to their resolutions, *and so strong is the enchantment with which he holds them, that it is impossible to perswade them they are in any sort of danger, or that they are making it impracticable for their friends to help them.*

MEMOIRS OF SIR ROBERT WALPOLE.

Period III. On Thursday last, the lords of the session published an act of federunt, commanding the brewers to appear next day before them, to give security to continue brewing; a copy of which I enclose; and as they all concurred in voting this act, save the justice clerk and lord Tweedale, every body imagined it would have had the effect to bring the brewers to their senses. But Mr. Dundas having mett with them that evening, spirited them up a afresh, and instead of giving security, prevail'd wjth them to sign a petition, which he drew for them. This petition, the lords appointed to be burned yesterday, by the hand of the common hangman, as a false, a scandelous, and a seditious paper; yet none of the brewers have submitted, fave one gentleman, who is a present magistrate of Edinburgh, who upon that account meets with the treatment naturally to be expected from the present temper of the people. Till Thursday last, I did not observe the Jacobites take any part in encreasing the flame, but since that, they have shown themselves industriously of his side of the question. General Wade has show'd a very great and prudent concern for the peace of this place. It is to this in a great measure it is owing, that hitherto we have had no tumults. But I never knew this country at any time so much disposed to be mad. The magistrats and council of this city, continue in a very good temper. We are upon our guard as much as we can be, but while this firebrand continues among us, it's hard to say, we will alwifse be so. I enclose a copy of the lords their order to us for burning the petition, which was faithfully executed.

SIR ROBERT WALPOLE TO LORD TOWNSHEND.

Troubles in Scotland not suppressed.

Hardwicke
Papers.
Extract.
Copy.

(London, July 29—August 9, 1725). ALTHO' the affairs of Scotland are now the chief object of men's thoughts and conversations, I have not as yet troubled your lordship with my thoughts on that subject, 'til I am able to form a better judgment about them, and to give my humble opinion to his majesty upon mature deliberation, and shall only say at present, that I am far from thinking that the troubles there are over. On the contrary, I greatly apprehend it will come to be a serious matter, and prove as difficult a task as any thing that has happened since his majesty's accession.

SIR ROBERT WALPOLE TO LORD TOWNSHEND.

*Hints at the necessity of removing the duke of Roxburgh, and abolishing the office
of secretary of state for Scotland.*

Tumults in
Scotland.
1725.

(London, August 13—24, 1725.) AS I write by the post, I must not be too particular, but I thought it proper to acquaint you, that since my long letter to you, baron Lant is arrived from Scotland; and in discoursing with him upon the state of affairs there, and the proper remedies for this great confusion, he told me very frankly and very explicitly, that nothing could conquer the present disorder, but the measure that I presumed humbly to advise, naming the person and thing; and I do assure you, I did not drop one word that should lead him to such an opinion, nor let him suspect that I had such a thought. But he says this whole affair in Scotland is understood, by every mortal in the manner that we look upon it here, and that even the most cautious and discreet are amazed that it is not done, and that the whole contest is for nothing else. He explains himself for a total abolition of the office. What makes me think this intelligence of more weight than ordinary is, that your lordship knows baron Lant's character and attachment cannot render him suspected as partial at all to my way of thinking.

Hardwicke
Papers.
Extract.
Copy.

SIR ROBERT WALPOLE TO THE EARL OF ILAY.

*On the tumults of Scotland.—Is of opinion that the brewers should be permitted
to raise the price of their beer.*

MY DEAR LORD,

Chelsea, August 14, 1725.

I Send you inclosed, a copy of lord Townshend's last letter to the duke of Newcastle, that your lordship may be fully informed of the sentiments at Hanover, of what is doing where you are. The severall things suggested are little new, and almost agreeable to the measures that had been thought on here, and which were laid aside for good reasons. However your lordship will give them a due consideration, that if any thing can be struck out, that is practicable, we may have your lordship's opinion, upon which the necessary orders shall be sent down. Equivalent Campbell's proposal of carrying on the brewing trade, if the magistrates of Edinburgh dare suffer it to be tried, and can be made effectual, would do the businesse, and if either that or any thing else that can be thought on which wants nothing but a fund of creditt, will do the businesse,

Campbell
Papers.

MEMOIRS OF SIR ROBERT WALPOLE.

Period III. but if credit shall not be wanting; for we must pour water into the well,
1720 to 1727. if nothing else will raise the water.

1725. If any particular brewer, such as the single magistrate of Edinburgh, who upon the summons of the court of session, would exert and endeavour to do all that is possible to be done, a credit supplied to him, which I would answer for, if he succeeded, would make the whole flock follow him as fast backward, as they have run into the other way. But I am of opinion, if the construction of the article of union which Mr. Scrope himself discoursed your lordship about, can be brought to bear, and the price of beer therein mentioned, be looked upon as descriptive only, and not conditional, and in consequence of this construction, the brewers be permitted to advance the price of their drink, without having the duty increased upon them, directions to commissioners of excise in pursuance of this opinion, might probably contribute more to the quelling these discords, than any other method whatsoever. Such orders from the government would at least leave the country inexcusable, and I see no objection, if it is legal, to our giving such orders, if in the execution of them due care is taken, that the kind of drink is not altered; I mean, if the strength and goodness is not increased, altho' the price be, I see no reason to raise the duty.

I must not omit letting your lordship know, that the assurances from Hanover of supporting the measures that shall be resolved upon, in my private letter from lord Townshend, go much further than what I here send you, that I am very sanguine about the success of the long letter I wrote.

LORD TOWNSHEND TO THE DUKE OF NEWCASTLE.

Leaves the method of proceeding in regard to the disturbances in Scotland, principally to his grace and sir Robert Walpole; but suggests some hints for the purpose of crushing the combination of brewers.—Commends the earl of Ilay.

MY LORD,

Hanover, August 17, 1725.

Campbell
Papers. I received yesterday by Parry the messenger, your grace's dispatch of the 30th July, which I laid before the king; and as his majesty was most affected with that part of your letter, wherein your grace mentions the difficulties which we are still like to meet with in raising the malt duty in Scotland, and particularly with the informations you had received from Edinburgh of the resolutions the brewers there seem to have come to of leaving off brewing,

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as soon as the officers should distrain for the malt duty, his majesty there-upon especially commanded me to let your grace know, that he is persuaded that so small a summ of money as that proposed to be raised by the malt tax, compared with the advantages which will accrue to all the growers of corn, by the draw-back on malt, could never have such an effect on the minds of the people of Scotland, nor produce in them such acts of folly and madness, were they not spirited up to that pitch, not only by jacobites, but also by incendiaries from other quarters. However, as any disturbance at this time, may have a double ill effect upon the king's affairs, not only by putting things in confusion at home, but particularly by giving them a wrong turn abroad, when the emperor and king of Spain will not fail to promise great advantages to themselves, from the least commotion that may arise in Scotland; his majesty therefore does not doubt, but on so critical a juncture, your grace and my brother Walpole, with all those who have his majesty's service at heart, will give the utmost attention to the carrying on this business with prudence and vigour, so as on the one hand, not to give up the collecting of the malt duty, as it is prescribed by law, and on the other, to take care to act with such precaution as not to drive things to extremities, or plunge the country in confusion, before the meeting of the parliament.

His majesty cannot take upon him at this distance, to suggest what measures shall be most proper and effectual for obtaining these ends. Your grace and my brother Walpole are on the spot, and are more distinctly informed of the working of this evil, and what remedies are to be applied. And I assure you, his majesty places an entire confidence, both in your abilities and zeal for his service, and will rely on those measures which you shall judge adviseable to be taken on this occasion, promising you at the same time, his assistance in all things necessary towards carrying through what shall be resolved on.

The king thinks, that the combination of the brewers at Edinburgh, may be attended with most dangerous consequences. For should they persist in their design, and should their example be followed by the chief towns throughout the kingdom of Scotland, this single act of theirs might put the common people under the greatest necessity, and consequently throw them into the greatest fury and distraction. How far the magistrates of Edinburgh are able to go in this case, or what power they have to force the brewers to carry on their trade, his majesty cannot pretend to judge here. Neither can he determine whether, if they were forced to go on against their wills, the bad beer they might in such

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1725.

case

MEMOIRS OF SIR ROBERT WALPOLE.

Period III. case brew, would not enrage the populace as much, and have as bad effect as
1720 to 1727. if they left of their trade all on a sudden.

4725. Under these difficulties, I must suggest to your grace a thought which the king mentioned to me on the perusal of your letter. His majesty observed, that the magistrates of Edinburgh have notice, that such a combination is forming, and therefore thinks, if they have vigour, zeal, and resolution enough towards carrying on his service, they may summon all the brewers before them, acquaint them with the informations they have received, and require them to declare, if there is any truth in the advice of their having entered into such a pernicious combination, and if they own they have, they should first intimidate them with such reprimands and threats as they think proper, and then privately try to break the combination, by getting some particular brewers to go on with their brewing, and promising them all encouragement and support, if they will abandon so extravagant a design, as their fellow traders would bring them into. But if they shall find the combination so strong, and the brewers so obstinate, that no impression of that sort can be made among them, then the magistrates should let them know, that unless they will submit to pay the malt duty appointed by parliament, without putting the officers to the trouble of distraining, and will engage to go on with their trade as formerly, and brew as good beer as they used to do; they the magistrates will find out and appoint other people to go on with the brewery, and set up public brewhouses for the use of the town. If this project be judged practicable, his majesty thinks it should be put in execution out of hand, before the officers come to distrain for the malt duty; and that preparations should be made from England, as well as at Edinburgh, towards shewing them that care shall be taken of the brewery, and that other brew-houses will be set up, even at the expence of the publick, in case the present brewers continue fullen. And the same expedient the king imagines may be put in practice, if necessary, in any other towns, where the like combination is set on foot, and in the county's where the justices of the peace are well inclined and have courage to act.

This that I have now written to your grace, is a thought which the king ordered me to suggest to the consideration of his servants in England, and his majesty does not question, but you will either model this in such manner, or strike out such other expedients on this occasion, as may prevent the pernicious designs of the enemies of his government in Scotland; and his majesty is persuaded, that if by any means the brewers may be made to fear, that they may

ORIGINAL CORRESPONDENCE.

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may happen to lose their trades, if they persist in their unreasonable obstinacy, Tumults in
Scotland. they will submit to the law, and quietly pay the easy tax which the parliament has laid upon them.

1725.

The king was highly pleased to find by your grace's letter, that my lord Ilay, was gone to Scotland. His majesty has a great opinion of his capacity and zeal to do him service there in this juncture; and your grace will do well to let his lordship know his majesty's orders concerning his journey, and how acceptable it was to him to hear that he had anticipated them by his diligence and activity; his majesty being desirous by all means that his lordship should be encouraged to exert that skill, dexterity, and influence he has in Scotland.

SIR ROBERT WALPOLE TO LORD TOWNSHEND.

The troubles of Scotland increase, and are principally owing to a contest for power.—Duke of Roxburgh counteracts the measures of government.

MY LORD,

London, August 17—28, 1725.

I Have nothing in particular to trouble your lordship with, in relation to the affairs of Scotland, but to acquaint you, that almost every particular method that your lordship suggested towards bringing the Scotch to reason, have been before thought of, and some of them attempted and found ineffectual, others were such, as the magistrates of Edinburgh dare not to attempt.

Hardwicke
Papers.

Copy.

You will have had an account of the proceedings of the lords of session, which was making use of the greatest authority in Scotland, to break the combination of the brewers, but your lordship will see how little effect that has had; and by the accounts received yesterday, the 10th of this month, the day appointed for the brewers by the court of session, to give security to carry on their trade, is expired, and not one brewer has complied with it. And the lords of session have deferred doing any thing further upon the disobedience to them, till they see what success the advocate has in his proceedings towards levying the duties, and this I look upon as an unfortunate incident; for now the dispute will be barely between the king's officers and the malsters, upon non-payment of the duties. But if the lords of session had proceeded in defence and support of their own jurisdiction, the weight and authority of that court, which has hitherto commanded the greatest deference and regard throughout all Scotland, would have been of great consequence to us. But the lords of session seem to be a little disheartened, and though the lords justices have in the strongest manner approved and commended their conduct, I

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MEMOIRS OF SIR ROBERT WALPOLE.

Period III. am afraid that is look'd upon only as a compliment of course, since nothing follows upon it. I intirely agree with your lordship, that the two extremes

1725. are to be avoided, if 'tis possible, and we are to endeavour neither to give up the raising the malt tax, nor to fling the country into confusion. But for the first, there is no medium: for they not only refuse to pay the duties for the stock that has been surveyed and charged, but they absolutely refuse to give security for payment at three or four months distance, which has been offered to gain time, which brings us under an immediate necessity either of levying the duties by distress, or not levying them at all. If any orders from thence should put a stop to the execution of the act, then we shall be told next winter, that a want of resolution in the government is the only blame.

By the last letters from the advocate, which came in last night, he seems to conceive some hopes, that he may be able to do some good, by a new thought which occurred to me, and I suggested to him; which is by suffering the retailers of beer to advance the price of the drink, without advancing the duty upon them. This is a construction of the article of union relating to the excise, which has hitherto been taken otherwise; but I am of opinion, it will bear this construction, if we find it will do, shall venture to give orders accordingly, which must come from the treasury, at least, as the only plausible objection they have, is founded on the opinion, that they are restrained to the price of their drink, notwithstanding the malt tax is paid, which they call an additional charge, and such as the price of the drink will not afford to pay; if this objection is removed, and they are suffered to raise the price of drink in proportion to the duty paid without an additional duty, they will be left inexcusable, when it will be impossible for the brewers or malsters any longer to insist, that they are not able to pay the duties, which then will be born by the consumers. But, my lord, when we have tried every thing, I cannot but have recourse to the opinion I have already given, and tho' no man can foretel where or how this will end, 'tis most certain the whole springs from a contest for power, and this I dare affirm is the opinion of every thinking man in Scotland. His majesty can only determine, but I beg leave to observe, that the present administration is the first that was ever yet known to be answerable for the whole government, with a secretary of state,* for one part of the kingdom, who they are assured acts counter to all their measures, or at least, whom they cannot in the least confide in.

* John, duke of Roxburgh.

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SIR ROBERT WALPOLE TO THE EARL OF ILAY.

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Scotland.

1725.

The duke of Roxburgh dismissed from the office of secretary of state for Scotland.

I Would not loose the opportunity of this post to acquaint you with what I am confident will be some satisfaction to you, amidst the troubles and difficulties, which I am sensible you are very hardly besett with; and when you have read this, I dare say, you will make no farther use, nor take any notice at all of it, until you shall hear in form, that the king's orders are actually executed.

I this day received an expresse from Hanover, which brought the king's orders to the duke of Roxburgh to deliver up the seals of his office to the duke of Newcastle, together with a sign manual directing and warranting the surrender and receiving of them; but both the order and warrant purporting expressly the delivery of the seals to the duke of Newcastle by name, and his grace being in Sussex, the execution of these orders must necessarily be delayed till his arrival in town. I have sent an expresse to him, begging he will come up without the losse of a moment's time, and hope he will be here time enough to do his business on Monday. This intelligence may be of immediate use to your own conduct, when your lordship sees what ground you stand upon, and you shall know it in form, the moment I can say it is done. But it may not be improper to acquaint you at present, that the scheme is to putt an end to the office of Scotch secretary. It will be happy indeed, my lord, if your lordship's endeavours should have any so good successe, as to give a creditt and satisfaction to the king from the effect of this useful measure.

SIR ROBERT WALPOLE TO LORD TOWNSHEND.

Good effects to be expected from the removal of the duke of Roxburgh.—The disaffected in the highlands surrender their arms readily.—Recommends the measures most proper to be pursued.

(London, August 23, 1725.) THE duke of Newcastle return'd this morning out of Sussex to execute the king's command, with regard to the duke of Roxborough, who being likewise out of town, nothing has yet been done, but I presume by to-morrow night, the duke of Newcastle will be able to give you an account of having executed this commission from his majesty,

Hardwicke
Papers.

Copy.

Period III. which I am verily persuaded will be of great service to his majesty, or at least
1720 to 1727. if this measure does not strike a damp on those restless spirits in Scotland,

1725. which animate, and even create all these disorders there, I am not able to say what will. By the accounts that are come in this day from Scotland, there is reason to believe that the jacobites have not so far taken their part as to be actors themselves, but leave that hitherto intirely to others; this I think is plainly to be inferred from the account general Wade sends of the dispositions of the Highlanders to surrender their arms immediately, which I scarce believe they would have done, if they had been determined to have any hand or share in the present disputes about the malt tax, any further than by privately and underhand blowing the coals; at the same time the magistrates of Glasgow persist in their obstinacy, and by way of reply to Mr. Delafaye's letter, written by order of the lords justices, almost dispute the facts that are most unquestionable, and endeavour to represent the whole proceeding as a fiction of the advocate's, and what he has not sufficient evidence to support. Upon this head, I beg leave to make one observation, that their reasonings are the same, and their objections agree almost verbatim with those that were stated by the duke of Roxborough at the regency, and it is now a fact, not denied by any body, that Mr. Dundas is the adviser and drawer of all papers that are prepared in opposition to the malt tax.

In the present situation of affairs in Scotland, it seemed to be a question, which of their measures it was prudent to proceed first upon. To levy the duties for the stock in hand already surveyed and charged, by distress for not paying or not giving security for the payment of the duties; to proceed by criminal process against the brewers for entering into an unlawful combination to leave off brewing, or to execute the warrants of commitment of the lords of sessions for disobedience and contempt of their authority, and by virtue thereof, to commit the brewers; and I was of opinion, that the first measure was the most preferable to be first put in execution, because it is the natural and plain step, expressly required and enjoined by the act of parliament, and the not doing it, or deferring the doing it, is not putting the law in execution, which is so far yielding the point in question, and upon this there can be no doubt or uncertainty of the proceeding, and if the consequence should be, that the brewers should thereupon leave off their trade, there is an overt act, and express proof of the combination, which will justify whatever shall be thought afterwards proper to be done to the brewers; and if the brewers are

committed for disobedience to the court of sessions, that may be some pretence for leaving off their business, but the question of paying or not paying the malt tax is not at all determined or forwarded by this proceeding, and I always think it better to proceed upon points that are plain, and not in the least to be controverted, than to enter into questions that will admit cavils and disputes, and this I have suggested as my opinion, and am very much inclined to hope, when this news of their secretary of state shall reach Scotland, and nothing is done, but in plain execution of the law, the madness will not be carried on, which they will plainly see can have no support.

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Scotland.
1725.

But as to what shall be done if the brewers should leave off brewing at Edinburgh, 'tis very hard to determine, because the magistrates of Edinburgh who are so well disposed, have not as yet dared to receive any other drink into the town not brew'd by their own brewers, for several expedients have been thought of, if this difficulty can once be removed, and I cannot again, upon this head, but flatter myself we shall have very good effects from his majesty's last resolution. Mr. Daniel Campbel is just come in, and the accounts that he gives, exactly agree with the notions we have of the whole proceeding, and he is persuaded, that the resolution the king has taken, will certainly have a very good effect. I am with great truth and affection.

P. S. (August 25, 1725.) The duke of Newcastle did not see the duke of Roxborough till this morning, to receive the seals. He will give you an account of their conference, and there is but one part that I shall trouble your lordship about, which is what he has desired to be wrote concerning his coming to the regency, and as he has resolved to stay away till he hears from Hanover, I think it is very much to be wished, that he may not receive such an answer from thence as may encourage his coming. When I sent my humble opinion, that it was necessary for his majesty's service, to take this resolution, I did not imagine that he would once think of coming after the seals were taken from him, and as I did avoid, and always shall avoid saying any thing personally hard of any body, that is founded upon suppositions only, tho' never so strong, I said nothing of the difficultys that we were every day under at the regency, when we were to consider of measures, and to give orders, in the presence of one, that I am persuaded, was counteracting all we did, which at least put it in his power to render every thing ineffectual. I think it very fortunate that he has resolved to stay till he hears from the other

MEMOIRS OF SIR ROBERT WALPOLE.

Period IV. side of the water; because in that time, I flatter myself we shall so far have
1720 to 1727. the good effects of his dismission, as to see the main contest over, altho' the
1725. chief busnels of the regency, I believe, will be in sending orders to Scotland.
 I would therefore, with all submission humbly hope, that the answer your lordship should return, might be something to this effect. "That his majesty would not do so harsh a thing as to alter the commission of regency on purpose to leave the duke of Roxborough out, or to send any orders to forbid his coming to the regency. But as he imagines his grace's attendance there in his present circumstances, cannot be at all agreeable to himself, his majesty does not think it reasonable to require that of him, and shall not be displeased if his grace thinks fit to stay away." Believe me, my lord, his coming will create a great deal of trouble, and disoblig'd as he is now, 'tis impossible to hope for any thing but open opposition from him.

SIR ROBERT WALPOLE TO LORD TOWNSHEND.

Affairs in Scotland mend.—Rumours that he is to be disgraced.

MY LORD,

London, August 24, 1725.

Hardwicke
Papers.

Private.

Copy.

I Am very glad you have had so good success in the great point of Scotland, which I cannot but hope will answser our expectations, for by the best accounts we have, with all the allowances for party representation, 'tis most certain the opposition in Scotland has been raised and kept up, by the hopes and expectations of support from hence. Daniel Campbell is just come to us, and confirms every thing, and you'l wonder to hear, that they are persuaded in Scotland, that my fall and disgrace at court is very near, and that they dream of nothing less than the loss of the seals. I have not seen governor Harrison of late, but I will send to him, and discourse him about what your lordship writes concerning the East India and South Sea company.

P S. I foresaw the duke of Roxborough's continuing in the regency, notwithstanding his losing the seals, which I took to be unavoidable, altho' it would be very much to be wished it could be otherwise, in case he should take it into his head to come among us; for I do assure you, he has taken up a very different manner of behaviour this year, from what he ever did before, and has been very explicit in giving direct opposition wherever he could find the least handle. The address from the magistrates of Glasgow, which has been already sent over, and their letter to Mr. Delafaye, which will come now, perfectly tally

tally with his proceedings here, that 'tis demonstrable they have hitherto wrote by his advice and direction ; and now that his grace has lost the seals, and has nothing to manage, if he should come, it will be very mischievous. But this depends entirely upon himself, for we adjourn ourselves from time to time, and there are no summons sent, but upon extraordinary occasions, which very seldom happen. I verily believe, if your lordship could have apprehended, that the duke of Roxborough would have thought of coming to the regency, you would have been of another opinion about that matter ; as he has now put it, he cannot come without the king's orders to come, or some intimation from his majesty, that he desires he should come, which indeed as to Scotland and appearances here, will lose half the grace of the thing, and as he would never submit to such a mean complyance, but with hopes of doing some mischief, you cannot imagine how prejudicial the hints that he has hitherto given, have been, and all their measures have been taken accordingly. If you avoid this difficulty, I think the busines of Scotland will be soon and well over, and believe me, his boasted credit and interest with the king, is the only thing that keeps the opposition alive in Scotland, and if you were in any degree sensible of what I feel, you would be of my opinion. For God's sake do not think of continuing him in the cabinet council, with a *Harcourt* pension.

Tumults in
Scotland.

1725.

SIR ROBERT WALPOLE TO THE EARL OF ILAY.

Highly approves his conduct in suppressing the tumults in Scotland.

MY LORD,

London, August 26, 1725.

I Am very much obliged to your lordship for the favour of your letter, and the particular account you gave me of the present state of affairs where you are, I should be very unjust, if I did not in a particular manner declare the sense I have of the service you have done your king, and the fair prospect you have opened of extricating the government out of difficulties which, till you undertook them, seemed unsurmountable. Your condescension to act as a private justice of the peace, must be of such singular service, that I cannot enough commend the thought and resolution. And I think it great good fortune, that my endeavours have been so successful as to remove out of your way that great obstruction, which must have render'd all measures for the service of the government very difficult, if not ineffectual.

Campden
Papers.

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MEMOIRS OF SIR ROBERT WALPOLE.

Period III. I cannot but be of opinion your lordship has judg'd very right in beginning
1720 to 1727. in the first place with summoning the brewers before the justices of the peace,

1725. for not paying or giving security for the payment of the duty. For as this is a regular step, in direct obedience and execution of the law, it cannot possibly admit of any cavil or dispute, and without it, the government had hitherto done no act, in order to levy and secure the duties, and if upon this the brewers shall leave off their brewing, you have an overt act, that is a full proof of the criminal combination and confederacy, which otherwise remains in the intention only, untill they shall have persisted some time in the non-exercise of their profession and calling. And if at the same time, some of the most notorious are committed upon the warrants of the lords of session for contempt, you do not only, as your lordship very wisely observes, engage the lords of session in the quarrel, but shew the brewers how many different ways, the government has to harraus and punish them, and it is very rare to find men of their rank, obstinate and hardy enough to withstand the power and authority of the law, when they begin personally to feel the smart and trouble of it. But upon supposition that they shall persist, your lordship will do very well, if you can break the confederacy, and take off some of the brewers. For that once done, and the knot broken, they will all be endeavoring to retrieve and return to their duty, and to this nothing will more contribute, than if they shall see the bailie-brewer well supported, and carrying on his business to his advantage, and the out-town brewers admitted to come into the town. For as the whole view and drift of this combination is to defeat the malt tax, by distressing the town by a total want of beer and ale, if such an attempt is by any means render'd ineffectual, their design is baffled, and they can have no inducement to hold out any longer; and if you can besides get possession of some of the brewing houses, they will soon grudge others reaping the profits which their own folly and obstinacy has deprived them of; but 'tis mispending your lordship's time, to dwell upon particulars which your own prudence has suggested, and must therefore see the benefits of, better than I am able to explain them.

But there is one thing in which I likewise agree with your lordship in opinion, that I understand gives the lord advocate some uneasiness, which is your delaying the prosecution of the magistrates of Glasgow, till after the triall of the rioters, and this I think should be so managed, as not to damp his zeal, which has been so commendably exerted upon this great and difficult occasion.

Your

ORIGINAL CORRESPONDENCE.

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Your lordship will easily imagine he must not know I write in this manner, but your discretion will easily manage this so, as to do what is right, and at the same time, not distaste him. For as 'tis most certainly of great consequence, that the magistrates in Scotland, upon whom the keeping the publick peace, and suppressing riots does so much depend, should not think they may with impunity neglect or withdraw themselves from their duty, so if by more gentle means they can be taught their duty, it leaves lesse rancour and determined resentment against the government, which a too rigorous severity may begett, but I mean not this to give up the prosecution of the magistrates, but only to postpone it till after the trial of the rioters.

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1725.

I have herewith sent your lordship 1,500*l.* which I leave intirely to your discretion and management, and dare say it will be laid out to the best advantage for his majestie's service. I will write to lord Orkney to do immediately what you desire about the brewer concerned with him, and whatever you shall propose for the encouragement and support of the magistrates of Edinburgh, shall be done. But pray my lord, give me leave to be so free with you, as to beg we may not at the beginning drive so fast, as to give our adversaries any advantage over us. The great stroake was now accomplished, without the least difficulty, which you know, I think is equal to the doing of the thing, and if we should immediately follow it, with propositions of other and more changes, it may possibly make some uneasiness, where there is now none, and where we should avoid giving any. I mean this in regard to lord Rothes and the chaplains; if the first will not be gained, I shall make no scruple, to lett him take the fate he deserves.

But I would at first shew all that call themselves whigs, and are willing to be received, that they may be received; for surely 'tis better, to lett this man fall single, than by involving others in his ruin, give him a credit, which I think does not belong to him. Your lordship will soon see how this operates, and from the effects be better able to judge what more is necessary to be done. By the conversations I have had with you, your lordship will conclude my opinion is not against doing the thing, but against doing that too precipitately, which we shall otherwise do more surely; in short, I would take the same methods now, that I think have succeeded in greater things, and question not but we shall perfect all. As for the chaplains, I shall soon be able to represent facts in such a light, as shall sufficiently strengthen your hands in affairs of that consequence, wherever you want it, but I would at present take the air of having nothing

Period III. nothing to do, but to carry on the king's businesse, put the law in execution,
1720 to 1727. and to do justice to all that are willing to support the king and his govern-
1725. ment.

I beg leave to give you one hint, do not neglect to write to the duke of Newcastle upon all occasions when any thing has been done or is to be done, he must know it, if it comes through my hands, and I am as well pleased to see it in his. Your more private sentiments you may communicate to me, and I shall make nothing but a proper use of them. I hope, my lord, you will look upon the freedom with which I write to you, as an instance of the friendship and confidence I place in you, and be assured, you shall find me with all possible sincerity, &c.

THE EARL OF ILAY TO MR. STEWART.

Relates the proceedings at Edinburgh against the combination of the brewers.

DEAR STEWART,

Edinburgh, August 24.

**Campbell
Papers.** I Was so fatigued with variety of plagues, that I only writ three lines to you, referring you to my long letter I writ to Mr. Walpole. When I came here, I found Duncan very violent for imprisoning some of the brewers immediately upon the warrants of the court of session, which were lodged in lord president's hands, to be used discretionally by the advice of such of his brethren, who were in or near the town; this instruction amounted to no more than a private advice, and made no part of the proceeding of the court, for the warrants were absolute in case the brewers did not by the 10th of August, obey the act of sedition. I found the brewers' scheme was to palliate their crime of conspiracy by their imprisonment, and afterwards when in prison, to deny they ever intended it, and only complain of the act of sedition; this, though it could not be a sufficient proof of their innocence, yet might have great weight with the people, as if I had occasioned the distress; I took therefore a middle way, and the rather because those proceedings of the session had been carried not only by the authority, but indeed by the artifice of our friends, and I had notice the rest had either been practised upon or intimidated, so that they did not care to have those warrants executed. I had the brewers summoned at about six days notice, to appear before the justices of peace (I having myself qualified the day after I arrived) and by the act of parliament, in case of appeal, they would have six days more to appear before the quarter sessions;